Daily Report

Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-061
Thursday
1 April 1993

Daily Report
Central Eurasia

FBIS-SOV-93-061

CONTENTS

1 April 1993

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTERREGIONAL AFFAIRS

Shokhin Says Russia Ready To Support Economic Union *[ITAR-TASS]* 1
Minsk Conference Ends; New Body Formed *[Moscow International]* 1
Former USSR Republics Sign Draft on Agrarian Cooperation *[INTERFAX]* 1
USSR States Develop Economic Integration Bodies *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 31 Mar]* 1
Proceedings of UCP-CPSU Congress Reported *[PRAVDA 30 Mar]* 2
ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 1 Apr 3

RUSSIA INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

U.S. Sub Commander Blamed for Crash *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Apr]* 5
Kozyrev Says Vancouver Summit Unchanged *[Moscow International]* 5
Preparations Under Way *[ITAR-TASS]* 5
Moscow Authorities To Permit Meeting Near U.S. Embassy *[INTERFAX]* 6
World Bank President on 'Doubts' Over Aid to Russia *[IZVESTIYA 1 Apr]* 6
Kozyrev Cited on Tehran Accord on 'Noninterference' *[Moscow TV]* 6
Commentary on Visit *[Moscow International]* 6
Sale of Nuclear Reactors Reported *[IZVESTIYA 31 Mar]* 7
'Strategic Partnership' Viewed *[IZVESTIYA 1 Apr]* 8
Vice Premier Shumeyko Arrives in Italy *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
Reviews Talks With Italian Officials *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
Addresses News Conference *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
Yeltsin's Envoy Holds Talks With Serb Leaders in Sarajevo *[ITAR-TASS]* 9
Work Begins in Khabarovsk To Demarcate Borders With China *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Miyazawa Says Japan Will Not Raise Kurils Issue at G-7 *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
G-7 Countries To Aid Russian Small Businesses *[ITAR-TASS]* 10
Russia Denies Seeking Disruption in Baltic Sea Navigation *[BALTFAX]* 10
Moscow Expresses Hope for Progress in Estonia Talks *[INTERFAX]* 10
Government Protests Over New Lithuanian Custom Regulation *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Government Calls For End to Violence in Tajikistan *[ITAR-TASS]* 11
Crew Under Arrest in Argentina Appeal to IZVESTIYA *[IZVESTIYA 1 Apr]* 11
Tougher Sanctions Against Illegal Immigrants Proposed *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 1 Apr]* 12

RUSSIA NATIONAL AFFAIRS

More Reaction to Ninth Congress of People's Deputies

Filatov Says Yeltsin To Propose Additional Referendum Issue *[Moscow International]* 13
Says Yeltsin To Abandon Separate Poll *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 1 Apr]* 13
Yeltsin Says Extremism Poses 'Serious Threat' to Peace *[INTERFAX]* 13
Text of Congress Referendum Decree *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Apr]* 14
Decree on Constitutional System *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Apr]* 15
Decree on Public Order Violations *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Apr]* 16
Khasbulatov Interviewed on Yeltsin, Congress *[Moscow TV]* 16
Court Says Yeltsin Letter Not 'Official Petition' *[INTERFAX]* 21
Kostikov Views 'Worsened' Political Scene *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 1 Apr]* 22
Says Opposition To Attempt New Impeachment *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Rumyantsev: Centrists Sided With Hardliners at Congress *[ITAR-TASS]* 23
Proposes 'Spiritually Close' Conference *[INTERFAX]* 23
Faction Leader Fears Emergency Congress During Summit *[INTERFAX]* 24
Filatov Says New Constitution Needed *[Russian TV]* 24

Television Phone-in Reveals 75 Percent Back Yeltsin *[Moscow Radio]* 24
Yushenkov Warns of 'Final Preparations' for Dictatorship *[ITAR-TASS]* 24
Economic Freedom Party Willing To Finance Referendum *[INTERFAX]* 25
Industrialists To Hold 'Emergency' Congress Before Referendum *[INTERFAX]* 25
Gaydar Said To Favor New Elections *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 4 Apr]* 25
Journalists Oppose 'Censorship' Resolution *[ITAR-TASS]* 26
Poltoranin Says Media To Remain Free *[ITAR-TASS]* 26
Further Poltoranin, Others Comment *[Moscow TV]* 27
Ousted Economy Minister Nechayev Interviewed *[MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS 31 Mar]* 29
Sverdlovsk Deputy Says Yeltsin To Conduct Opinion Poll *[INTERFAX]* 30
'Confrontation' Factor Boosts Yeltsin Rating in Moscow *[IZVESTIYA 31 Mar]* 30
Yakut Leaders Voice Support for Yeltsin, Referendum *[INTERFAX]* 31

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Decree Strips Firms of Foreign Trade Privileges *[Moscow International]* 31
Council of Ministers Presidium Meets To Discuss Exports *[Russian TV]* 31
Approves Draft Plan To Boost Exports *[INTERFAX]* 32
Plans To Double Exports of Finished Goods *[ITAR-TASS]* 32
Approves Agricultural, Industrial Measures *[ITAR-TASS]* 32
Government Taking Steps To Form CIS Common Market *[ITAR-TASS]* 33
Living Standard Edict Seen Jeopardizing Austerity Plan *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 31 Mar]* 33
Preliminary Data on First Quarter's Economic Performance *[IZVESTIYA 31 Mar]* 34

Military Issues

Army Said Split Over Support for Yeltsin *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 30 Mar]* 35
Army Recruitment Problems Viewed *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 31 Mar]* 36

Supreme Soviet

31 Mar Session Adopts Inquiry Committee Bill *[ITAR-TASS]* 37
Upholds Appeals on Legitimacy of Decrees *[INTERFAX]* 37
Soviet of Nationalities Adopts Draft Law on Russian Koreans *[ITAR-TASS]* 37
Withdraws Resolution on Abkhazia *[INTERFAX]* 37
More on Soviet of Nationalities Sitting *[ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA 1 Apr]* 38
Report on Supreme Soviet Session 31 Mar *[Russian TV]* 39
Supreme Soviet Continues Meeting 1 Apr 39
Debates Amendments to Referendum Law *[ITAR-TASS]* 39
Urges Court To Examine Presidential Decrees *[ITAR-TASS]* 40
Denounces Crimea Congress *[ITAR-TASS]* 40
Biographies of New Parliament Deputy Speakers *[ITAR-TASS]* 40
Further on Deputies *[KOMMERSANT-DAILY 31 Mar]* 41
Abdulatipov Interview on Federation Treaty *[Russian TV]* 42

Regional Affairs

Grachev Continues Visit to St. Petersburg *[Moscow TV]* 45
Further on Troop Withdrawal Remarks *[BALTFAX]* 45
Prime Minister Pays Visit to St. Petersburg 45
Yarov Explains Purpose *[ITAR-TASS]* 45
Meeting With Industrialists *[ITAR-TASS]* 46
Yeltsin Representative in Ingushetia Interviewed *[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI 31 Mar]* 46
Navy Commander in Chief Gromov Visits Vladivostok *[INTERFAX]* 47
Birobidzhan Missile Troops Hold Demonstration Launching *[ITAR-TASS]* 48

UKRAINE

International Affairs

Defense Ministry Considers 'Denouncing' Fleet Agreement *[Kiev International]* 49
Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict Cited *[INTERFAX]* 49
Defense, Foreign Ministry Statement on Nuclear Weapons *[ITAR-TASS]* 49
Kravchuk Comments on Russian Congress, Constitution *[INTERFAX]* 49
Ambassador to Russia on Prospects for Bilateral Relations *[INTERFAX]* 50
Share of USSR UK Property Claimed *[INTERFAX]* 50
Supreme Soviet Chairman Reflects on Russian Congress *[INTERFAX]* 50
Future of Nikolayev Shipyard Contemplated *[Moscow Radio]* 51

National Affairs

Kravchuk on Political Issues, Concept of State *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 4 Apr]* 51
Miners To Begin Three-Day Warning Strikes on 2 Apr *[ITAR-TASS]* 54
Ioffe Announces Response to Demands *[Kiev International]* 54
Defense Ministry Directorate Chief Dismissed for Corruption *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 30 Mar]* ... 54
Anticommunist Front Appeals to Citizens for Unity *[HALYCHYNA 19 Mar]* 55
Problems Facing Ukraine Farming Sector Aired *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 31 Mar]* 55

WESTERN REGION

Belarus

Kebich Addresses Supreme Soviet 30 Mar *[Minsk Radio]* 56
Addresses 31 Mar Session *[Minsk Radio]* 57
Shushkevich Addresses Supreme Soviet 31 Mar *[Minsk Radio]* 58
Kravchanka Criticizes Parliament on Foreign Policy *[INTERFAX]* 60
CIS Economic Union Negotiations Said Authorized *[ITAR-TASS]* 60
Central Europe NATO Commander in Chief Visits Minsk *[Minsk Radio]* 60
Meets National Security Committee Chairman *[Minsk Radio]* 61
Russian Ambassador Terms Relations 'Model for All CIS' *[Minsk Radio]* 61
Prime Minister Urges Prosecutor To File Libel Suit *[MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI 4 Apr]* 61
Destruction of MiG-27s Begins According to CFE Treaty *[ITAR-TASS]* 61
Delegation Leaves for Economic Talks in Bonn *[ITAR-TASS]* 61

Moldova

Snegur Says Republic's Interests Depend on Russia *[INTERFAX]* 62
Sangheli Receives Chisinau Hunger Strikers *[Bucharest Radio]* 62
Impact of Events in Russia on Chisinau, Dniester Viewed *[BASAPRESS]* 62
'Revival of Relations' With Romania Viewed *[BASAPRESS]* 63

CENTRAL ASIA

Kazakhstan

Speaker, President Address Parliament Session *[KAZTAG]* 65
Introduction of National Currency 'Too Dangerous' *[INTERFAX]* 66
Nazarbayev Meets Israeli Business Delegation *[ITAR-TASS]* 66
Cooperation Protocols Signed *[Jerusalem Radio]* 66

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev: CIS Ready To Defend Against Communist Comeback *[INTERFAX]* 66
President Receives Letter of Support From Clinton *[INTERFAX]* 66

Tajikistan

Further on Deaths of Popular Front Leaders 67
Rakhmonov Speaks at Saidov Funeral *[Dushanbe Radio]* 67
Deaths May 'Lead to More Bloodshed' *[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 31 Mar]* 67
Rumors of 'Disturbances' Dismissed *[INTERFAX]* 67
Foreign Minister Cited on Deaths *[ITAR-TASS]* 68
Government Forces Take 'Full Control' *[ITAR-TASS]* 68

Uzbekistan

Malaysian Prime Minister Arrives on Official Visit *[ITAR-TASS]* 68
Discusses Ties, Trade With Karimov *[Kuala Lumpur Radio]* 69
News Agency Warns of Danger of Return to USSR *[UZBEKISTAN APN]* 69

CAUCASUS

Armenia

Azerbaijan Said 'Trying To Cut Off' Lachin Corridor *[Yerevan International]* 70
Ter-Petrosyan Urges West To Assist CIS More Actively *[INTERFAX]* 70
Foreign Ministry Official Reports on Visit to India *[INTERFAX]* 70
Enterprise Leader Discusses Gas Shortage *[INTERFAX]* 71

Azerbaijan

Armenians Said Creating Second Corridor to Karabakh *[AZERTAC]* 71
Official Appeals to Ambassadors *[TURAN]* 71
Rayon Surrounded; Evacuation Ordered *[AZERTAC]* 72
President Cited on Situation *[ITAR-TASS]* 72
More on Evacuation *[ITAR-TASS]* 72
Situation 'Critical'; 'Great Number' Dead *[TURAN]* 72
Evacuation Suspended; 'Thousands' Flee *[ITAR-TASS]* 72
Embassy in U.S. Contacts State Department *[TURAN]* 73
President's Office Issues Statement *[TURAN]* 73
Karabakh Units Surround 'Major' Force Near Lachin *[ITAR-TASS]* 73
Elchibey Says Opposition 'Misinterprets' Situation *[ITAR-TASS]* 73
Interior Minister Khamidov 'Ready To Resign' *[INTERFAX]* 74
Opposition Reacts to Minister's Attack on Journalist *[IZVESTIYA 1 Apr]* 74
Officials Give News Conference on Ganja Situation 74
All Problems 'Settled' *[TURAN]* 74
No 'Rebellion' in Ganja *[Baku Radio]* 75
Further Comment by State Secretary *[Baku Radio]* 75
Chairman Kamber, Spanish Ambassador Discuss Cooperation *[Baku Radio]* 75

Georgia

Shevardnadze Warns of 'Explosion' in Russia *[IZVESTIYA 1 Apr]* 76
Army Reportedly Harassing Russian Residents *[Moscow TV]* 77
Servicemen Seize Russian Military Apartments *[ITAR-TASS]* 77
Concern Over Russian Food Convoy to Soldiers at Eshera
[CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY] 78

Russian Seismic Laboratory in Abkhazia Shelled Again *[ITAR-TASS]* 78
Zviadists Will Not Join Georgian Army Force in Abkhazia *[INTERFAX]* 78
General Leshchuk Named Chief Supplier of Abkhaz Separatists
[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 17 Mar] 78
Gagra Volunteers Training for Combat *[Russian TV]* 79
Commissar Discusses Military Service, Spring Call-Up *[SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA 26 Mar]* 79
Country To Have Coupons, 50 Percent Budget Deficit in 1993
[NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA 31 Mar] 80
Decree Issued on Powers of Constitutional Commission
[SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA 26 Mar] 81
Referendum Rally Draws Over 1,500; No Incidents *[Tbilisi Radio]* 81

BALTIC STATES

Estonia

Defense Minister Pleased With Grachev Proposal *[INTERFAX]* 82
Russian Delegation Head Meets Russian Citizens *[ETA NEWS RELEASE]* 82
Meri Appeals to Clinton Over Radio Broadcasts *[Tallinn Radio]* 82
Meri Pays Unofficial Visit to UK, To Go to Geneva *[Tallinn Radio]* 82
Council of Europe Approves Application for Membership *[BALTFAX]* 82
Ammunition Shipment From China Awaiting Finnish Permit
[Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT 26 Mar] 83

Latvia

Interior, Police Chiefs Begin Visit to Israel *[Riga Radio]* 83
Economic Reforms Minister on Cooperation With Israel *[BALTFAX]* 83
Parties Granted Equal Opportunity To Use Radio, TV *[LETA]* 83
Forces Poised To Patrol Country's Airspace *[BALTFAX]* 84

Lithuania

Further Reaction to Grachev Statement on Troop Pullout 84
Explanation Awaited From Russians *[ITAR-TASS]* 84
More Butkevicius Remarks *[BALTFAX]* 84
President, Ministers Meet *[Vilnius Radio]* 84
Treaties Explained *[IZVESTIYA 1 Apr]* 84
Landsbergis Comments *[BNS]* 85
Gylys Wants Russian Talks Delegation To Achieve More *[BNS]* 85
Seimas Continues Discussing Government Program *[ITAR-TASS]* 85
Slezevicius Outlines Tasks *[BALTFAX]* 86
New Cabinet Sworn In *[Vilnius Radio]* 86
Prime Minister Changes Decision on LDPL Activity *[BALTFAX]* 86
Committee Official Names Foreign Policy Priorities *[BALTFAX]* 86
Government To Receive 50-Million ECU Credit *[INTERFAX]* 87
Foreign Minister Signs Council of Europe Conventions *[Vilnius Radio]* 87

Shokhin Says Russia Ready To Support Economic Union

LD3103193093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1054 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Larisa Klyuchnikova for TASS]

[Text] Minsk, 31 Mar—Russia is not raising the issue of an economic union, it is an initiative from Belarus and Kazakhstan, Russian Federation Vice Premier Aleksandr Shokhin said. "Any economic or customs union is a heavy burden on the Russian budget, so we are not pressing this issue - but we are ready to support the idea, even though it is difficult for us," he said at a meeting with journalists on Tuesday after the conference of government representatives of the CIS countries held at the CIS headquarters in Minsk.

A draft statute on a Coordination and Consultation Committee was initialled at the conference by the majority of the participants. Experts will be working on a draft statute on an Executive Secretariat for 10 days. Permanent representatives of the CIS working group have been instructed to submit a list of questions to be discussed at the meetings of the heads of state and heads of government in 1993. It has become known that a brief meeting of heads of state is being planned, so as to finalize their positions before the Yerevan summit scheduled for 30 April.

Minsk Conference Ends; New Body Formed

LD3103163993 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] A conference of CIS delegates in Minsk, the capital of Belarus, has approved the emergence of a new CIS body, a (Coordinating and Consultative Committee).

Interviewed upon the end of the conference the Russian Vice Premier, Aleksandr Shokhin, said that Russia was going to maintain the free trade regime with all CIS member states. He also had talks with the Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich. They agreed on additional supplies of Russian oil to Belarus.

Former USSR Republics Sign Draft on Agrarian Cooperation

OW3103211093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A draft agreement on inter-state cooperation in the field of the agrarian-industrial complex, signed by leaders of agrarian sectors of 11 former USSR republics during a conference held on March 29 in Akmol (Northern Kazakhstan), is qualified as the first step on the way to a single agrarian market of these states, Vice Premier of the Russian government Aleksandr Zaveryukha declared on Wednesday [31 March] at a press conference on the results of this conference.

Zaveryukha expressed his conviction that a single agrarian market can be formed after the Council of heads of CIS states considers this draft agreement and added that Vice Premiers and Agriculture Ministers, who participated in the conference, demonstrated great interest in integration's deepening in the sphere of agrarian-industrial complex.

Responding to our Interfax correspondent concerning cooperation between Russia and Kazakhstan, Zaveryukha declared that in 1993 Moscow would like to buy about 6 Mn [million] tons of grain in this republic, however, the final volume of deliveries will be determined during further negotiations. Vice Premier also reported that Kazakhstan has already delivered more that 3 Mn tons of grain out of its 1992 harvest, the total volume of the Kazakh grain delivered to Russia can constitute 4-5 Mn tons.

During the press conference Zaveryukha reported that for the time being Russia cannot fully refuse from grain import "though it intends to reduce it:" in the near future the republic plans to procure 2 Mn of food grain in the West. In addition, the state wants to procure 2 Mn tons of grain more, left from 1992 harvest, from its own producers.

USSR States Develop Economic Integration Bodies

MK0104074093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 8

[Konstantin Smirnov report: "Economic Problems of Former Union Republics. New Union Based on Oil and Grain"]

[Text] Former republics of the USSR are beginning to take concrete steps to create a trade and economic union. This can be concluded from an analysis of conferences that ended yesterday of power engineering ministers of the Commonwealth countries, the Baltics, and Transcaucasus in Moscow, and of heads of agro-industrial departments of the same countries in Akmala, Kazakhstan. It should be noted that the economic integration process that has just begun does not result from arbitrary decisions made by the governments of the new independent states, but is rather an effect of the working of economic laws. Precisely those laws resulted in the creation in Europe of the Common Market.

The need for preserving a single economic area on the territory of the ex-USSR is beginning to find specific expression in the establishment of direct cooperation links at the sectoral level on the basis of purely market-oriented relations. The start was made in Surgut, at the meeting of premiers of the former USSR republics that convened under pressure from the heads of national fuel and energy complexes (KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported this meeting three weeks ago.) Their session in

Moscow yesterday approved the statute of the secretariat, the executive body of the Intergovernmental Oil and Gas Council. Yuriy Vershinin, general director of the Tyumenneftegaz Production Association, was appointed head of the secretariat, which will be headquartered in Surgut. The secretariat's main function will be monitoring compliance by Council members with their commitments regarding the development of the Surgut oil and gas fields and regarding shipments of fuel and energy resources from Russia. It also made an important decision to create an interstate share capital bank of the Intergovernmental Council's member countries. Its main task will be to finance the fuel and energy complex of the former USSR republics. In addition, a permanent fair is to open in Tyumen for energy sources and for material and technical resources for their extraction and transportation.

The conference also defined the size of each Council member's commitment to the development of Russian oil and gas fields. Under a signed bilateral protocol, Ukraine, in particular, undertakes to overhaul 887 wells in 1993, to drill a total of 1,096 km of new wells, and to invest 11.2 billion rubles in the development of the production and social infrastructure. Provided Ukraine honors its commitments, it gets an additional 12 million tonnes of oil.

Another session of the Intergovernmental Council is to take place in Tyumen on 20 June.

The conference of agriculture ministers of the Commonwealth, the Baltic states, and Transcaucasus that ended yesterday in Akmala, Kazakhstan, may serve as an example of growing integration tendencies on the territory of the former USSR. The heads of agro-industrial complexes gathered there decided to take a cue from their fuel and energy counterparts, and to pool their efforts to ensure food supplies for the population. Under the agreement signed on the results of the meeting, a single agricultural market is to be created. It was also decided to found a Council of Heads of Agro-Industrial Complexes of states that are former USSR republics.

KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts believe that the processes unfolding on the territory of the former USSR are remarkable because the building of integration links between former republics of the USSR is not beginning with trade, as was the case in Europe, but rather with the establishment, in the production sphere, of horizontal cooperation links based on market principles.

Proceedings of UCP-CPSU Congress Reported

PM3103155193 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 2

[Valentina Nikiforova report plus "Own Information" postscript: "What the 29th CPSU Congress Decided: Merger? No, But What We Do Have Is a Step toward Unity"]

[Text] The 29th CPSU Congress, which reorganized the party into the Union of Communist Parties-CPSU [UCP-CPSU], was held in Moscow 26-27 March.

The event was bound to be historic: The existence of a single party came to an end. The new formation's future is unclear as yet. One thing is, admittedly, certain: The 29th CPSU Congress was conceived by the organizing committee charged with convening the congress as one designed to unite the communist parties, but, because it occurred when the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies of Russia was in session, you were left with the feeling that the main events were taking place not there, in the Orion movie and concert hall, but in the Kremlin Palace.

The party congress delegates repeatedly tried to go to the Kremlin, where "Working Russia," the National Salvation Front, and other patriotic organizations were maintaining their vigil. Support was really needed there. But the members of the organizing committee insisted on getting their own way: We have assembled to tackle internal party affairs, but we have dispatched a delegation to those standing by the Kremlin walls. Russian Communist Workers Party Central Committee Secretary V. Anpilov went there immediately after delivering his speech.

According to a cautious announcement by the press center, 416 out of 589 delegates came to the congress from 11 republics of the former USSR. For important reasons the majority of single communist parties were not represented. The Communist Party of Ukraine is banned, and its organizing committee has been able to hold only the first stage of an all-Ukrainian conference. The Communist Party of Kazakhstan has submitted registration documents three times, but as yet to no avail. The communists of Belarus [Belorussiya] have been going through a difficult time since the ban on the Communist Party was lifted—first they have to unite within their own republic; a congress is scheduled for April.

Until the last moment (it was reported on the second day of the congress) there had been no news about the registration of the Rules of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF], and a plenum of the CPRF Central Executive Committee had asked the organizing committee to defer the convening of the congress [syezd] or to hold a congress [kongress] of communist parties as scheduled. But the organizing committee did not go back on the decision of the 20th party conference, which fixed the congress [syezd] date for the first quarter of the current year. And the major republic parties were represented only by oblasts.

However, it was indeed impossible to discount the opinion that, in order to unite, you have to create central organs—a kind of headquarters around which the communist parties (one party from each republic, as a rule) will gather.

On the basis of what ideas and principles? Everyone knows what they are: the restoration of the USSR and the preservation of soviet power and socialist gains. "Until we stop fudging the issue of parties, we won't

attain our goal," Organizing Committee Chairman K. Nikolayev warned in his report. Anything else opens the way to "petit bourgeois attitudes and social democratism," which, in the speaker's opinion, are opposed to the soviets and in favor of parliamentarism.

Program Commission Chairman A. Prigarin noted that an upturn in the communist movement is now observable, a revolutionary situation is growing, and the classic scenario has come to pass whereby the upper echelons cannot govern in the old way while the grass roots are unwilling to go on as before. Admittedly, as yet there is no increased activity on the part of working people. The people are patient, that is why communists have not yet won sufficient authority among the broad masses.

Indded, without a considered, in-depth analysis of what happened to the party, of its blunders and mistakes, the party's first-rate objectives are simply left hanging in midair. But which communists are opposed to restoring the USSR and soviet power and bringing the economy up to world standards?! The only thing is **HOW** this is to be done if the party (now parties) lack real opportunities?

But, unfortunately, neither the speeches nor the draft Rules and Program submitted for discussion supply answers to those questions, and the congress participants simply did not have enough time to analyze them in depth. During a recess I managed to talk to Yuliya Vasilyevna Kolesnikova, whose marvelous poetry was read out from the congress rostrum. For 10 years she worked for the communist newspaper PRAVDA UKRAINY.

"But now I cannot get a job," she said bitterly. "And how many communists have sufferd for their convictions! I agree with Aleksandr Pavlovich Kotsyuba, who has warned that haste impedes the normal work of primary organizations too—where the fate of the party, and of our deputies who are seeking to get the ban on the Communist Party of Ukraine lifted is now being decided."

The haste noted also by delegates influenced the woolly, wordy style of some documents adopted by the 29th congress. The declaration on the reorganization of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union into the "Union of Communist Parties-CPSU" says that the UCP-CPSU "will operate as an international sociopolitical organization with the aim of elaborating common positions on basic questions of the policy of communist parties and the development of the communist movement, and coordination of communists' actions in recreating the economic, political, and territorial unity of the Soviet Union on the basis of the decision of the nationwide referendum of 17 March 1991." However, the Rules talk not just about agreeing ideological and political principles but about regulating purely internal issues of parties' lives.

Incidentally, after the creation of the Union of Communist Parties the CPRF representatives still proposed preparing and holding a congress [Kongress] of communist parties in July-August 1993, where the Program and the final version of the Rules are to be adopted. And these documents are to be based on the programmatic tenets and rules of the communist parties of the former republics of the USSR and the draft Program and Rules of the UCP-CPSU submitted to the 29th congress.

Unfortunately, this proposal went unremarked at the congress, nor was account taken of the proposals of the representative of Kazakhstan that each party belonging to the UCP have its own program and rules—there is no need to have ones common to all! It was the drafts proposed by the organizing committee which were adopted. But let us hope that the communist parties, having grown stronger in the UCP, will be able to draft acceptable documents.

However, it is premature to anticipate the UCP-CPSU's swift return to the political arena as a decisive force. Sad, but true. And it is better to take cognizance of it now—otherwise the same could happen as with the abortive attempt to impeach the Russian president.

After long debate the congress elected the UCP Council. O. Shenin was elected council chairman and K. Nikolayev first deputy chairman. A. Chekhoyev, A. Melnikov, Ye. Kopyshev, A. Prigarin, and I. Prostyakov were elected deputy chairmen.

Stop Press...

The leaders of the UCP Council held a news conference on the results of the congress. It was reported during it that collaboration among the independent communist parties of the former republics of the USSR and, in future, foreign communist parties too will take place within the framework of the UCP-CPSU.

(Own Information)

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 1 Apr

LD0104123193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0710 GMT 1 Apr 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 1 ITAR-TASS—Problems of Russian science and the preservation of the nation's intellectual potential are highlighted by the newspaper KRASNAYA ZVEZDA (RED STAR) in its April 1 issue. The newspaper says that Russia's science is finding itself in a very difficult situation which leads to a mass-scale "brain- drain" and stresses that "the intellectual wealth of the nation cannot be squandered as simply as that". If the process gains momentum, the country will find itself "stagnating even more than during the twenty years of Brezhnev rule".

According to KRASNAYA ZVEZDA, the best way to combat the brain drain is by "ensuring full employment at research centres, raising the role of science in everything we do in order to avert voluntarist and extremely expensive blunders; and by raising the material and moral prestige of those who represent Russia's intellectual elite".

"My losing researchers we are losing the country," the newspaper writes.

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA also published an article by its analyst Aleksandr Goltz who took part in the Russo-Japanese symposium in Moscow which brought together numerous prominent scientists from the two countries to discuss security on the Asian continent. According to Goltz, "the main result of the discussion was the unanimous view that both Russia and Japan are vitally interested in strengthening security in the Asian-Pacific region, and that much in this sphere depends on the two countries".

The newspaper also carries an interview with a participant in the symposium, Japanese scientist Masashi Nishihira who admitted that although a number of favorable changes have take place in the political situation in Asia, "the effects of the Cold War are still being felt".

KRASNAYA ZVEZDA correspondents offer their version of the recent tragic killing in Tajikistan of two Popular Front leaders—Sangak Safarov and Faizali Zaripov. KRASNAYA ZVEZDA entitled the article "fratricidal war in Tajikistan can receive a new impulse". The killing can lead to a split in the Popular Front leadership and to new complications in the political situation in the republic as a whole, the newspaper says citing "independent observers".

PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA call for vigilance and the struggle against "dictatorship" which, according to them, is embodied by the president and his entourage. These newspapers continue to praise the decisions of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, the country's supreme legislature, which lead "to people's power and social justice", the newspapers claim.

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA carries an article by a people's deputy Vladimir Isakov, one of the leaders of the National Salvation Front, who is confident that "dictatorship is doomed to failure" as "the present regime has driven itself into a trap by acting out the part of a fighter for the power of the people".

The same newspaper published a page-long commentary by two observers—people's deputy Iona Andronov and journalist Eduard Volodin, who are sharply critical of the Russian-American dialogues on strategic arms reduction. Both commentators claim that Russia has practically "capitulated" as regards the nuclear missile issue and "has forgotten" about the "necessary self- defence threshold", judging by the treaty according to which "we are losing almost everything, while they are retaining almost all".

The Russian Government newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI (RUSSIAN COURIER) carry an article by the presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov commenting on the lessons of the latest Congress of People's Deputies.

Kostikov writes that the congress failed to achieve either its formal or informal aims—to help stabilise the social and political situation, and to try and topple the president or at least drive a wedge between him and the government. "The congress failed to stabilise the situation. Rather the opposite is true: Reports from the provinces say the congress added discord, and the opposition failed to impeach the president".

The same newspaper publishes an interview with the Russian Interior Minister Viktor Yerin who claims that crime is becoming better organised and more arrogant in this country. "We lose many lives every year: last year 318 our people were killed and more than 500 were wounded".

Along with this, the minister said that Russian society is reacting very strongly to the state of criminality. "When I tell my foreign colleagues about our worries and troubles they seem unable to understand me. They keep telling me that in other countries five thousand to seven thousand crimes are committed per every 100,000 inhabitants, while in Russia the number are 1,800 per 100,000 and in Moscow less than 1,000 per 100,000." the minister said.

The newspaper TRUD offers its readers an interview with Vladimir Ispravnikov, chairman of the Supreme Economic Council and deputy parliament chairman, concerning measures to protect individual savings. The newspaper remarks that inflation virtually "burned to ashes" individual resources on savings banks accounts. Ispravnikov cited experts as saying that depositors lost up to 95 per cent of their savings in real terms. Along with this he said "no one has the right to declare permanently lost the money devalued by inflation since the beginning of 1992".

U.S. Sub Commander Blamed for Crash

PM3103191593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Apr 93 First Edition p 1

[Aleksandr Mozgovoy report under the "Sensation" rubric: "Twenty Meters Away from Nuclear Catastrophe"]

[Text] The world was 20 meters away from a nuclear catastrophe on 20 March during the collision in the Barents Sea between a Russian submarine guided-missile cruiser and the U.S. atomic submarine Grayling. Your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent was told this by investigators examining the incident who have just returned from the Northern Fleet.

"While carrying out a dangerous maneuver, the Grayling's rear stabilizer grazed the bow section of our submarine," Rear Admiral Aleksey Ovcharenko, deputy chief of the Russian Navy's Operations Directorate, said. **"Calculations of the courses, speeds, and mass of the two vessels show that it was only good fortune which saved the submarines from destruction.** The Grayling's hull was just 20 meters away from the conning tower of our atomic submarine. If the U.S. submarine had rammed it, the control room and adjacent compartments would inevitably have been flooded instantly. It would have been virtually impossible to shut down the two nuclear reactors. Then there would have been an inevitable thermal nuclear explosion [teplovoy yadernyy vzryv]. A blow to the protective skirt [ograzhdeniye] around our submarine's ballistic missile launchers would have been no less disastrous. There are 16 missiles with several warheads each, with a total yield in the tens of megatonnes. Finally, you can imagine a third, no less dangerous scenario: The horizontal rudders [gorizontalnyy rubochnyy rul] of the ship under the command of Captain First Rank Bulakov could quite possibly have penetrated the hull of the Grayling. Then there would have been a rapid flooding of the U.S. ship and the thermal detonation of its reactor."

"The blame for this incident rests wholly and entirely with the commander of the Grayling," Rear Admiral Valeriy Aleksin, the Russian Navy's Chief Navigation Officer, stated. "For around an hour our ship followed an unchanged course at the same depth. But the American ship, although aware of the presence of another ship ahead on the same course, lost sonar contact with it but came dangerously close—which led to the encounter. Then, like a small boy caught stealing apples from someone else's garden, the commander of the Grayling decided to cut and run instead of offering assistance to the other accident victim, as good maritime practice demands.

"Since good relations were established between Russia and the United States, we have reduced the number of our missile-armed submarines on combat patrol in the oceans severalfold and withdrawn our submarines from America's coasts completely," V. Aleksin stressed. "Unfortunately, the U.S. Navy has not reciprocated. Last year we twice suggested that U.S. representatives examine measures to prevent incidents involving submarines in the two countries' combat training grounds and conclude an appropriate agreement. Alas we have received no answer."

Kozyrev Says Vancouver Summit Unchanged

LD3103170193 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] The Russian Foreign Minister, Andrey Kozyrev, has said that neither the date nor the venue of the forthcoming Russian-U.S. summit meeting have been changed. The Russian and U.S. Presidents will meet in Vancouver, Canada, on the 3d and 4th of April.

Interviewed on board a plane on his way back to Moscow from Tehran, Kozyrev said that Russia was making an intensive preparations for the meeting. A total of 30 specific issues will be on the agenda of the Vancouver summit.

Preparations Under Way

LD0104101293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0825 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Pavel Vanichkin, Andrey Loshchilin]

[Text] Washington April 1 TASS—With the end of the cold war, rivalry between the United States and Russia gave way to partnership, and economic problems have been given prevalence over military-strategic problems. This is how representatives of the U.S. administration assessed the present Moscow-Washington dialogue.

High officials who spoke on Wednesday [31 March] on conditions of anonymity described the preparation for the meeting of the presidents of the United States and Russia to be held in Vancouver, Canada, on April 3-4. They said that for several decades, the chief purpose of participants in the Soviet-American summits had been to minimise the damage the superpowers could do to each other. In Vancouver, Presidents Clinton and Yeltsin will discuss how Russia and the United States can assist each other to the utmost.

Representatives of the administration said a serious economic package will be offered to Russia in Vancouver. It will include absolutely new projects and the expanded and adjusted versions of the existing programmes. They said all the envisaged programmes will be financed from the endorsed federal budget for the current year. The officials said that three quarters of funds in the framework of aid to Russia will be channelled to the non-government section, and three quarters will also go not to Moscow, but to provinces.

On the same day the UPI, with a reference to a White House official who also insisted that his name not be given, reported that in 1993 the U.S. plans to grant to Russia unilateral aid amounting to from 500 million to one billion dollars. He said the biggest part of this aid will not be in the form of funds that the U.S. Treasury

will send to the Central Bank of Russia, but in the form of pay for American specialists sent to Russia to work in various branches of the economy. Their purpose is to give assistance to market reforms in Russia.

Moscow Authorities To Permit Meeting Near U.S. Embassy

OW3103213093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1609 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov has allowed a group of citizens to organize and conduct a meeting near the building of the U.S. Embassy from the side of Bolshoy Devyatinski bystreet (from 13:00 till 15:00 on April 4). The initiators of the meeting declared that the aim of the meeting is "to express solidarity with the oppressed peoples of Northern Ireland, Algeria, Bosnia, Afghanistan, and Salvador. About 100 people are expected to participate in this action. [no close quotation marks as received]

World Bank President on 'Doubts' Over Aid to Russia

PM0104132593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Aleksandr Shalnev: "Loans Received Are Being Used Inefficiently, World Bank President Believes"]

[Text] Washington—Bill Clinton's administration has announced yet again that an impressive package of aid to Russian reforms is being prepared for the summit in Vancouver but on the same day the World Bank expressed serious doubts as to the effectiveness of the mechanism for obtaining, distributing, and using the aid.

The bank's president, Lewis Preston, said in response to my question that Russia's "domestic problems" are the reason why of the $0.5 billion "rehabilitation loan" which the World Bank granted us back at the end of last year so far only $50 million or $60 million have been used. Two relatively recent loans have also remained in the air: A loan of $90 million earmarked to help privatization and a loan of $70 million intended for the social protection of the Russian population. Neither loan has yet received approval by the Russian parliament.

Meanwhile the Clinton administration has already mounted a quite powerful propaganda campaign whose aim is to persuade Americans and with them members of Congress of the need to assist Russia, including through massive injections of money. On Thursday Bill Clinton delivers a speech wholly devoted to this theme, just as Secretary of State Warren Christopher did a week ago. In addition, to judge by the statements of White House staffers, the President is planning to launch one of the most effective instruments for influencing public opinion: He intends to deliver a television address to the nation.

Meanwhile on the Capitol Hill congressmen and senators who sympathize with Clinton's plans are seriously considering how to "sell" these plans to voters since any aid package must pass through Congress which, naturally, cannot fail to take account of the feelings of ordinary Americans.

World Bank President L. Preston in fact denied reports which have appeared in the U.S. press claiming that the Clinton administration is stepping up pressure on the IMF and the World Bank to achieve an easing of the terms for credits and loans to Russia.

Kozyrev Cited on Tehran Accord on 'Noninterference'

LD3103223193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent Aleksandr Gerasimov] One of the results of the visit to Tehran by Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev, which ended yesterday, was an accord with Iran's top officials on that country's noninterference in the Tajik conflict. The reason for the discussion of this subject was information that had appeared about an intensification of combat actions in the spring by anti-government forces acting under the green flag of Islam.

As a result of the talks, official Tehran's Islamic internationalism is restricted by two articles in a joint document ruling out state support for terrorist and extremist groups.

An opportunity has thus appeared for the Dushanbe leaders to catch their breath, as the shaky balance of opposing forces will not be disturbed by Iran at least for the time being. [Video shows Kozyrev beneath a portarit of Ayatollah Khomeyni talking with Iranian officials; street scenes; Kozyrev meeting Velayati: sides at negotiating table; Kozyrev meeting President Rafsanjani; then street interview with Kozyrev.]

[Kozyrev] We have managed to reach agreement here on not rocking this situation and on supporting the legally elected and existing government and to motivate all sides, including the government itself, the opposition, and the Islamic opposition to embark on national reconciliation.

[Gerasimov] At the same time Dushanbe is left with other neighbors in Central Asia who in the name of the Most High are capable of sorting out infidels in Tajikistan. Andrey Kozyrev will be continuing a discussion of this theme next week in Islamabad, the capital of Pakistan.

Commentary on Visit

NC0104091193 Moscow Radio Moscow in Persian 1330 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Vladimir Kronin commentary]

[Text] Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati described the results of Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's official visit to Iran as extremely positive.

There is no doubt that the current priorities of Russian foreign policy stem from the far-reaching developments in our country. The Soviet Union, which was once considered egocentric, no longer exists. Russia no longer views the world through the perspective of ideology. New values have replaced old ones, including adherence to democratic norms and opening the country to the outside world. Now Russia does not consider any eastern or western country its opponent.

Preserving traditional friendly relations with the southern neighbors of the former Soviet Union, including Iran, Turkey, Afghanistan, India, and the PRC, is one of the most important priorities of Russia's foreign policy. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union these countries distanced themselves from Russia, and the newly independent countries of central Asia and Caucasus come between them, but this does not mean that they should be relegated to the sidelines of the foreign policy of the new Russia.

In light of the above, the latest visit by the Russian foreign minister to Iran marks Moscow's inclination to infuse new life into bilateral relations in various fields. On the conclusion of the talks in Tehran, the foreign ministers of the two countries initialed a political agreement on the fundamentals of reciprocal relations on the principle of goodneighborly cooperation between Iran and the Russian Federation, which will be [word indistinct] signed by the heads of the two countries. They also signed protocols on political consultations between the respective Foreign Ministries and an agreement between the two governments for visa- free travel for diplomatic and official purposes.

During the talks, regional and international issues of mutual interest were discussed in depth. In particular, Russia and Iran stressed that both stand to benefit from ensuring security and stability in Central Asia and the Caucasus. 'Ali Akbar Velayati announced at a news conference later that the stances of Tehran and Moscow conform with one another with regard to these issues in practice, and the two countries intend to make an effort to cooperate closely within the framework of bilateral consultations and the Minsk session for an end to bloodshed as soon as possible in Nagorno-Karabakh.

No difference of opinion could be perceived with regard to the two countries' approach to the situation in Afghanistan. The two sides concurred in the need for a meticulous adherence to the Islamabad accord on the part of all the Afghan groupings. As we are aware, Tehran had signed the Islamabad accord and in this manner, it manifested its intention not only to supervise the implementation of the agreements in this accord, but also to extend all kinds of assistance in eliminating the residual differences among the Afghan mojahedin. Russia also welcomed the peace agreements reached at Islamabad.

The stances of the two countries on resolving the Bosnia-Herzegovina issue differ to a certain extent. As we know, Iran favors military intervention. Iran believes that this intervention should take place within the framework of the Islamic Cooperation Organization or under the aegis of the United Nations, so that the current situation in Bosnia-Herzegovina may be resolved. However, Russia has consistently supported resolving the conflict solely by political means.

During his talks in Tehran, the Russian foreign minister expressed his views on signing the peace accord based on the Vance- Owen plan. Moscow and Tehran do not differ on the main issue, that is the establishment of a just peace on the basis of ensuring the independence of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Moscow's stance on the establishment of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf region was also stressed in the Tehran talks. Russia has always supported the preservation of stability in this important part of the world and the creation of a reliable security mechanism in the Persian Gulf, solely on the basis of the resources of the regional countries, and solving all existing problems by means of talks. If we are to judge by Iran's reaction, it is clear that these stances were received with complete understanding by Tehran.

Sale of Nuclear Reactors Reported

PM0104121193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition p 3

[Andrey Kamorin report: "Moscow To Sell Nuclear Reactors to Tehran"]

[Text] Observers had been tending to connect Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev's trip to Iran—the first since the collapse of the USSR—with Moscow's concern about the increase in Iran's influence over the Central Asian states of the CIS. The results of the visit, however, revealed more of a desire on the part of the two countries for closer coordination of their foreign policy efforts.

Kozyrev and Iranian Foreign Minister 'Ali Akbar Velayati initialed a political document on the foundations of mutual relations and the principles of good-neighborly cooperation between the Russian Federation and Iran, signed a protocol on political consultations between the two ministries, and agreed that visas would not be required for trips on diplomatic or official passports.

The document on the foundations of mutual relations is a framework document and, after being finalized, will be turned into an agreement which should be signed in the near future by the Russian and Iranian presidents.

The results of talks on economic issues were very interesting. Noting the need to expand trade cooperation, particularly within the framework of the Organization for Caspian Sea States Cooperation, the ministers ultimately focused their attention on the military and nuclear spheres. Kozyrev reaffirmed Russia's intention to continue selling arms to Iran, stressing that the bilateral ties in this sphere are of a "defensive nature and are

not aimed against other countries." An accord was also reached on implementing joint projects in the sphere of nuclear power generation, which will envisage, in particular, the sale to Tehran of two 440-megawatt nuclear reactors.

These deals have given rise to lively comment in the foreign press, which has been conjecturing as to how they might affect ties between Russia and the United States. The already strained relations between Washington and Tehran have deteriorated in recent days because of the White House statement that Iran is violating the UN sanctions on Iraq by buying Iraqi oil. It is thought that the plans for closer cooperation between Russia and Iran in such sensitive areas as defense and nuclear power could meet with irritation in the United States.

Commenting on these fears, Andrey Kozyrev stressed at a Tehran news conference that Iranian-Russian ties are aimed exclusively at strengthening stability and security in the Asia region, which has been confirmed in particular by the consultations on the Nagorno-Karabakh and Afghanistan problems. "Our friendly relations with the United States and Iran are not only not contradictory but are complementary," the minister pointed out.

'Strategic Partnership' Viewed

PM0104111593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Maksim Yusin: "Moscow Offers Tehran 'Strategic Partnership'"]

[Text] Tehran-Moscow—"Talks with the Iranian leaders have shown that we can conduct dialogue with them not only without switching to an anti-Western, anti-American tone but even on the contrary without concealing our ally relations with the West," said Andrey Kozyrev, summing up the results of his trip to the Islamic Republic.

It is hard to say whether these assurances will be enough to dispel the caution generated in the West by the Russian foreign minister's first visit to Tehran. The Western capitals cannot fail to ask: How far could Russia's cooperation with the Iranian regime go?

According to one member of the Russian delegation, the aim of the trip was to establish "strategic partnership between Moscow and tehran aimed at ensuring stability in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus." A very important topic on the agenda was the situation in Tajikistan. "We have information that the Tajik opposition is preparing a major offensive against the government troops," a high-ranking Foreign Ministry staffer said on the eve of the visit. "Considering Iran's influence on Islamic groupings in Tajikistan, we wanted to discuss this question with the Iranian leaders." To all appearances Tehran is not restricting itself to moral support for the "fighters for the faith." According to Russian intelligence information there are several camps on Iranian territory where gunmen are trained for the Tajik opposition detachments.

And although officially Tehran denies such reports Kozyrev touched on this delicate topic even in his talk with President Rafsanjani. Ultimately points of contact were successfully found. According to Kozyrev both Tehran and Moscow are interested in a moderate leadership heading Tajikistan. The Iranians voiced their readiness to use their influence on the opposition leaders and try to persuade them to come to the conference table.

The diplomats from Kozyrev's entourage believe that the inclusion of the second and 15th articles in the text of the Russian-Iranian treaty which is to be signed by the two countries' presidents was a great success. In the second article Moscow and Tehran undertake to prevent the use of their territory for aggressive, subversive, and separatist actions against the other side and states friendly with it. In the 15th article Russia and Iran state their readiness to cooperate with a view to eradicating terrorism and promise to struggle against hostage-taking...

Of course it is one thing to receive from Iran verbal promises to struggle against international terrorism and quite another to achieve their fulfillment. Nonetheless, Kozyrev believes that an important step has been taken. According to the Russian minister, his task was to demonstrate Moscow's solidarity with the Iranian president's reformist course: "There is no doubt that Rafsanjani and Foreign Minister Velayati are representatives of the moderate wing, they are trying to move away from tough Islamic fundamentalism. But it must not be forgotten that there is a second stratum, a shadowy stage on which completely different forces operate." By offering Tehran "strategic partnership" Kozyrev did not close his eyes to flagrant manifestations of Iranian extremism like the Salman Rushdie affair. It has become known from reliable sources that the Russian minister touched on this subject—an unpleasant one for the Iranians.

As for Russian-Iranian military cooperation, which gives rise to particular anxiety in the West and the states of the region, no new accords of any kind were reached. Perhaps that will happen in the near future when a visit to Tehran is expected by a high-ranking delegation from the Defense Ministry to be headed either by Grachev himself or by the chief of General Staff. Commenting on the Russian-Iranian military ties, a diplomat from Kozyrev's entourage drew attention to two factors. First, he believes that our military supplies to Iran do not disrupt the balance of forces in the region and are not aimed against third countries. Second, by trading with Iran Russia is not violating a single international commitment, since no sanctions have been introduced against Tehran.

Vice Premier Shumeyko Arrives in Italy

LD3103130593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1200 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Bukalov]

[Text] Rome, 31 Mar—Vladimir Shumeyko, first deputy prime minister of Russia, arrived in Italy today on an official visit. He began talks with Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo in Rome. He also plans to have talks with Prime Minister Giuliano Amato, and Treasury Minister Piero Barucci. In Milan, V. Shumeyko will meet with representatives of Italian business circles.

Reviews Talks With Italian Officials

LD0104123093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1900 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksey Bukalov and Sergey Startsev]

[Excerpt] Rome, 31 Mar—[passage omitted] At a news conference, Deputy Prime Minister Shumeyko noted that at the talks with Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo and Italian Treasury Minister Piero Barucci, they discussed precise forms of active help to Russia, and in particular, questions related to the problem of the external debt, the stabilization of the ruble, and the creation of investment funds aimed at developing small and medium businesses.

Shumeyko noted that only the servicing of Russia's external debt will require 3.5 trillion dollars in 1993. Taking into consideration the economic possibilities of the country, one could talk about paying off 2.5 trillion dollars this year and having the rest rescheduled for a later date.

Answering the ITAR-TASS correspondent's question on procedures for holding the referendum on 25 April, Shumeyko underlined that in his opinion the question on the attitude towards the socioeconomic policy of the president and the government, proposed by the Congress of People's Deputies, was illegal. The Russian law on referendum forbids budget and financial policy questions to be debated at a nationwide referendum. The first deputy premier also said that at present the idea of including the question of the new constitution in the referendum was being looked at. This would mean using the provision of the law allowing the subjects of the federation to add their own questions to the referendum.

Colombo, who also spoke at the news conference, said that it was necessary to express "effective solidarity" with Russia, which is going through a difficult period in its development. "The West understands that the exceptionally complicated and global processes under way in Russia require appropriate reaction and solidarity which could be helpful in implementing democratic reforms."

Addresses News Conference

LD3103213493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2104 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Aleksey Bukalov and Sergey Startsev]

[Text] Rome April 1 TASS—Visiting First Vice-Premier of the Russian Government, Vladimir Shumeyko, addressed a news conference in Rome on Wednesday upon completion of talks with Italian Foreign Minister Emilio Colombo and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Pierro Barucci.

"Russia has embarked upon the road of building developed democracy. This way is very difficult for present Russian society. Today, when we speak about economic aid, we imply assistance to our developing democracy," Shumeyko said.

"The well known Lenin's Formula 'yesterday it was early, tomorrow will be late' can well be applied to the problem of aid," Shumeyko said. "Perhaps, yesterday it was too early yet for Western countries to offer aid, they had to be convinced that Russia had seriously enough embarked upon the way of democratic transformations. But if the aid arrives late today, tomorrow it may be too late," Shumeyko said.

He highly appreciated official support given by Italy to Russian President Boris Yeltsin and said that during talks in Rome held in the run up to the G-7 meeting scheduled in April, the Italian side voiced many constructive ideas about providing multilateral aid to Russia and further developing bilateral cooperation.

Yeltsin's Envoy Holds Talks With Serb Leaders in Sarajevo

LD3103172193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1636 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Kondrashov]

[Text] Belgrade March 31 TASS—Vitaliy Churkin, special envoy of the Russian president and Russian deputy foreign minister, has arrived in Pale, in the neighbourhood of Sarajevo, on Wednesday [31 March], for talks with leaders of Serbian community in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The Russian envoy held talks with the Serbian President in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Radovan Karadzic, and other leaders of Bosnian Serbs.

During the talks the sides discussed issues connected with the settlement of the conflict in this republic and positions taken by the Serb community on a package of proposals contained in the plan suggested by Cyrus Vance and David Owen of the cessation of war and future settlement in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On the same day Churkin is expected to cross in a car the Serbian-Moslem frontline in Sarajevo and meet with an official representative of Bosnia and Herzegovina, Alija Izetbegovic.

However, it has not been reported yet whether an agreement will be reached on a meeting with leaders of the Moslem community.

Work Begins in Khabarovsk To Demarcate Borders With China

LD0104102193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0738 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yuriy Vitrishchak]

[Text] Khabarovsk April 1 TASS—Work has begun in Khabarovsk region in the Russian far east to demarcate the border with China, according to Russian Ambassador at large Genrikh Kireyev, who heads the Russian delegation to the ad-hoc joint Russian-Chinese Commission.

According to Kireyev, the commission is working to demarcate 4.300 kilometers of the border between the two countries in the next five years. He said 3,700 kilometers stretch over water reservoirs.

This is the first time the two countries are demarcating their borders in this region.

Miyazawa Says Japan Will Not Raise Kurils Issue at G-7

LD0104114293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1058 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo April 1 TASS—Tokyo is not going to raise the question of the South Kurils at a conference of G-7 leaders in Tokyo early in July, said Japanese Premier Kiichi Miyazawa.

He said at a news conference on Thursday that in a message recently referred to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, inviting him to Tokyo for a meeting with leaders of G-7, it is noted that Japan does not intend to raise the problem of Russo-Japanese relations at the forum.

In answer to ITAR-TASS, Miyazawa said that at the forthcoming conference of foreign ministers and finance ministers of G-7 on Russian problems to be held on 14-15 April a new programme of Western aid to Russia is unlikely to be adopted. Much rather, each of the seven countries will set out in detail its viewpoint on the support for Russian reforms. A detailed exchange of opinion on assistance to Moscow will be held on this basis.

The prime minister said Japan intends to support Yeltsin as Russian president who had been elected by the whole people and who conducts the course at reforms. Regardless of how the situation in Russia shapes, Tokyo will be helping Moscow with reforms.

G-7 Countries To Aid Russian Small Businesses

LD0104121993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1057 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vyacheslav Bantin]

[Text] Tokyo April 1 TASS—G-7 countries intend to set up a fund of assistance to small businesses in Russia in the amount of approximately 100 million dollars at the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The decision to set up the new fund is planned to be passed at a conference of foreign ministers and finance ministers of G-7 on Russian problems to be held in Tokyo on April 14-15, it is reported here on Thursday.

The fund is to be part of the new package of aid to Russia, planned to be adopted by G-7 countries at their April forum. Japan is to contribute 15-20 million dollars. The chief purpose of the fund will be to finance international programmes of technical aid to small businesses in Russia and to train their staffers in Western companies.

Russia Denies Seeking Disruption in Baltic Sea Navigation

OW3103224193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1956 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Neither Russia, nor the Baltic Sea Fleet are seeking to disrupt the navigational safety of Baltic ports in order gain a competitive edge for St Petersburg and Kaliningrad sea ports, head of the Baltic Sea Fleet's Hydrographic Office Yuriy Sidorov told Baltfax.

He said the Chief Navigation and Oceanography Department could no longer afford to pay for the upkeep of hydrographic equipment in Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia.

Sidorov also said that the three Baltic states showed no desire to allocate any money to resolve the problem.

The situation is worsened still because of differences in the cost of components for hydrographic equipment in Russia and the Baltic states. It looks as if the Baltic states, said Sidorov, were seeking to try to corner Russia by forcing its taxpayers to pay to ensure the safety of navigation in other countries.

Moscow Expresses Hope for Progress in Estonia Talks

OW3103214293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1752 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his conversation with our Baltfax correspondent the leader of the Russian delegation Vasiliy Svirin expressed the hope of making progress at the next round of the Russian-Estonian negotiations scheduled for April 6-7 in Nakhabino, a populated center near Moscow.

Assessing a two-day preliminary meeting with the head of the Estonian delegation Juri Luik concluded on Wednesday [31 March] in Suurupi near Tallinn, the Russian diplomat reported that the parties' positions are "close or coincide" primarily in the sphere of trade-economic cooperation. According to Svirin, the development of agreements to prevent dual taxation and on mutual protection of investments is to be completed shortly.

At the same time, Svirin said, as before the parties "are too far" from solution of border problems and issues related to the withdrawal of the Russian forces from Estonia.

The leader of the delegation indicated that it is difficult to work productively at the plenary sessions due to a great volume of work. To this effect he highly appreciated the meeting of heads of delegations and advocated continuation of such form of work.

The head of the delegation refused to comment the statement of the Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev on suspension of Russian troops withdrawal from the Baltic states mentioning absence of appropriate instructions from the Russian Foreign Ministry. At the same time Svirin promised to Luik to inform the Russian Foreign Ministry about the concern of the Estonian party caused by this statement on his return to Moscow.

Government Protests Over New Lithuanian Custom Regulation

LD3103183993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1634 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—Russia protested over the unilateral decision of Lithuanian authorities to introduce hard currency customs duties as of March 22 on cargoes in transit to Kaliningrad region, a Russian enclave cut off from the country by the Baltic state.

The Lithuanian charge d'affaires in Moscow was summoned to the Foreign Ministry and informed that the Lithuanian decision contradicts the treaty on interstate relations, the agreement on cooperation in economic, cultural and social development of the Kaliningrad region. Moreover, Lithuania should have informed Russia beforehand, according to a statement of the ministry made on Wednesday.

Russia expects urgent explanations and immediate cancellation of the duties, the document said.

Government Calls For End to Violence in Tajikistan

LD3103172593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1640 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent Vladimir Suprun]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—Russia called on the Tajik people to refrain from violence which may be triggered by the tragic death of two leaders of the popular front - Sangak Safarov and Faizali Saidov.

It is very important to do everything necessary to avoid spiralling up tension. If the accident triggers violence it will threaten much of what has been achieved during stabilisation in Tajikistan, the Russian Foreign Ministry said in a statement on Wednesday.

Russia supports the appeal of the Tajik Parliament and Government made on Tuesday [30 March] to end bloodshed, restore peace and order on Tajik land, according to the document.

Crew Under Arrest in Argentina Appeal to IZVESTIYA

PM0104124193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 93 First Edition p 3

[Report by Gennadiy Charodeyev: "Ship Arrested in Argentina Appeals for Help"]

[Text] The Russian freezing seiner trawler Orel arrested in February in the South Atlantic on suspicion of illegal fishing in Argentina's economic zone and shot at by Argentina's patrol ships is still under arrest in the port of Bahia Blanca.

Angered by "the illegal armed seizure of a ship in international waters," the fishermen "are on the verge of moral collapse" and, it emerges from a telegram sent to IZVESTIYA, are demanding that the Russian Government take immediate steps to free the crew.

Having familiarized themselves with the message, representatives of the Foreign Ministry and the Russian Federation fishing committee expressed extreme surprise. They said that Russian diplomats, representatives of the ship owner (the Pionerskaya base of the ocean-going fishing fleet in Kaliningrad) and a well known Argentine lawyer hired by the embassy have been in Bahia Blanca since the Orel's arrest. Although the trawler is still under arrest its captain and crew still enjoy freedom of movement. The ship owner has created conditions for the fishermen to lead a normal life. The Russian Embassy in Buenos Aires maintains constant contact with the "arrestees." According to the committee for fishing, right now the situation on the Orel is calm. There have been no official complaints from the sailors regarding their provision with legal guarantees or their living conditions.

A highly placed representative of the Russian Federation Foreign Ministry assured IZVESTIYA that Moscow is closely following the development of the situation with regard to the ship Orel. The Russian Government is doing everything possible for its speediest release.

Tougher Sanctions Against Illegal Immigrants Proposed

MK0104134093 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Apr 93 p 2

[Aleksandr Barinov report under the rubric "Special Services": "Underground Immigrants May Turn Moscow Into Huge Chinatown. More Than 120,000 Illegal Immigrants Have Settled in Capital"]

[Text] Given the present economic and political instability, the growth of clandestine immigration into Russia may present a real threat to the security of the state in the immediate future. This was revealed during the 31 March press conference at the Moscow Directorate of the Security Ministry by the directorate's counterintelligence chief, Vyacheslav Sarychev, and the counterintelligence department chief, Nikolay Sevryuk. The transparency of Russia's borders, and the absence of a single precise entry-exit system, according to them, have made the illegal immigrant situation in the country critical, especially in the region of Moscow. During the last three months in 1992 alone, nearly a quarter of a million foreigners left the territory of the Russian Federation with exit data in their passports, but they were not registered when they entered the country. According to the most conservative estimate, there are more than 120,000 illegal immigrants in Moscow and Moscow Oblast today. They are mainly from Afghanistan, Iran, Sri Lanka, Somalia, Ethiopia, and China. The overwhelming majority of them enter Russia in order later to make their way into the United States and West Europe via any available route. The main channels by which illegal immigrants get into the Russian Federation are the former USSR republics, travel tours, and pretending to go to study in Russian higher educational establishments. Once here, they, as a rule, vanish from the field of vision of the official organizations that had invited them, and settle in private apartments and boarding houses posing as "refugees" or using fake papers.

For example, the number of Chinese nationals on the territory of Moscow region has now topped 50,000. Their main occupation is smuggling in goods and selling them. According to the Security Ministry, the Chinese are going to use the proceeds to buy real estate in Russia, and in privatization.

The administration of Moscow and Moscow Oblast approved, at their joint collegium on 22 March, a draft joint decision on regulating the arrangements pertaining to the stay of foreigners in the region. Besides, Security Ministry and the Ministry of Internal Affairs chiefs are going soon to submit in the Supreme Soviet their proposals on tougher sanctions against illegal immigrants, on putting in place an effective mechanism for their expulsion, and on fine tuning the entry-exit procedures in Russia.

More Reaction to Ninth Congress of People's Deputies

Filatov Says Yeltsin To Propose Additional Referendum Issue

LD3103213693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 2100 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] The president's chief of staff, Sergey Filatov, has said that the president is going to suggest an additional issue for the referendum due at the end of April, the one concerning the basic principles of a new constitution. The official said that the approval of the basic ideas of a new constitution would help find out which state system in Russia is likely to have a future. Filatov also said that apart from a planned foreign visit President Yeltsin was going to make a number of tours of Russia shortly. He is going to meet with the people of various regions to explain the principles of his policy.

Says Yeltsin To Abandon Separate Poll

MK0104122093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 1 Apr 93 p 2

[Veronika Kutsyllo report: "25 April Presidential Poll May Not Take Place"]

[Text] In the near future the president will submit a petition to the Constitutional Court requesting that decisions of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies be declared unconstitutional. According to Sergey Filatov, chief of the president's administration, one such document has already been filed with the court: regarding the violation of the impeachment procedure by the congress. Boris Yeltsin, however, does not intend to repeat the mistake made by the Constitutional Court—the protest will be sent only after the definitive texts of the congress' decrees are published.

To all appearances, the president will make no new addresses to the people. According to Sergey Filatov, at present the presidential administration is preoccupied with drawing up the texts of Boris Yeltsin's petitions to the Constitutional Court regarding the unconstitutionality of decisions made by the Ninth Congress. The chief of the presidential administration said that for the time being only one petition has been sent to Valeriy Zorkin: on the violation of the impeachment procedure. The Constitutional Court's press service, however, said yesterday that the court had not yet received the document.

The delay in sending the president's petitions to the court appears to stem from the president's desire not to repeat Mr. Zorkin's mistake and not to protest documents that have not yet been published—in this case the congress' resolutions. The more so because, as experience shows, the final version of a decision may prove somewhat different from what was expected. But it is the congress' decree concerning television that will apparently undergo particularly significant modification, because two other decrees passed by the congress—on measures to maintain constitutional order and on the April referendum—have already been signed and will be published in the next few days. The finalizing of the third decree which the president's allies consider unconstitutional is dragging on and some of the decree's provisions may finally be softened. But for the time being Sergey Filatov has suggested that television staffers abide not by the congress' decision but by the presidential edict on mass media.

According to Sergey Filatov, the president plans to forgo a parallel poll on 25 April and "to concentrate all his efforts on one referendum." Maybe this change of mind was caused by Boris Yeltsin's earlier meeting with democratically minded deputies, who tried to dissuade the president from embarking on the "parallel course." The president's final decision, however, will depend on whether the method of counting votes at the referendum (50 percent of the total number of voters) established by the congress—which makes a positive answer to any of the referendum questions highly unlikely—will be deemed constitutional or not by the Constitutional Court. The president also plans to insist that the article of the Constitution authorizing the congress and parliament to suspend presidential edicts, that was "defrozen" at the Eighth Congress, be suspended. Nor does Boris Yeltsin agree with the abolition of the institution of the president's local representatives.

In addition, the presidential side will try to include in the list of referendum questions the question about a new Constitution. Deputies supporting the president are ready to start collecting citizens' signatures so that this question can be put to a referendum. In Filatov's view, only a new Constitution can "resolve all the arguments at one stroke." KOMMERSANT-DAILY observers, however, believe that all these presidential intentions are unlikely to succeed.

Yeltsin Says Extremism Poses 'Serious Threat' to Peace

OW0104165693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1636 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russian President Boris Yeltsin stated that the manifestations of political extremism which have appeared in society represent a serious threat to civil peace. At a meeting in the Kremlin on Thursday with the leadership of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs (RUIE) the president stressed the importance and opportuneness of coordinating joint activities between all constructive, including centrist, forces that place the strategic aims of renewing Russia through reforms above narrow party interests.

The president's press service reported that Yeltsin's meeting with the RUIE leadership, including its president, Arkadiy Volskiy, and coordinator of the Obnovlyeniye ("Renewal") party, Aleksandr Vladislavlev, was part of a series of meetings which the president is

conducting after the 9th Congress in connection with the prospects of the referendum.

According to the press service, the discussion centered on issues of securing stability of work in the nation's industrial complexes and the concrete execution of reforms in industry. It was stressed that stable work in industry is an important factor in maintaining social harmony in Russia. As noted at the meeting, although Russia's industrialists and directors' corps constructively criticize individual aspects of industrial policy, they fully support President Yeltsin's line on intensifying reforms in the Russian economy and in society.

Text of Congress Referendum Decree

PM0104112393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Apr 93 Single Edition p 3

[Decree No. 4684-1 of the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies "On the All-Russian Referendum 25 April, the Procedure for Summing Up Its Results, And the Mechanism for Implementing the Results of the Referendum," signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and dated the Kremlin, Moscow, 29 March 1993]

[Text] With a view to overcoming the political crisis in the Russian Federation, and in view of the Russian Federation president's proposals that a referendum of confidence in the Russian Federation president be held, the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies decrees:

1. A nationwide ballot-referendum is to be declared throughout Russian Federation territory Sunday 25 April 1993 on the following questions:

(1) "Do you trust Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin?—Yes or No. (delete as appropriate)";

(2) "Do you approve of the socioeconomic policy implemented by the Russian Federation president and government since 1992?—Yes or No. (Delete as appropriate)";

(3) "Do you think it necessary to hold early elections of the Russian Federation president?—Yes or No. (Delete as appropriate)";

(4) "Do you think it necessary to hold early elections of Russian Federation people's deputies?—Yes or No. (Delete as appropriate)."

A separate ballot paper is to be drawn up for each question put to the referendum.

Other questions not approved by the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies may not be put to the referendum.

2. The nationwide ballot-referendum on the questions envisaged by Point 1 of this decree is to be held in accordance with the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR Referendum."

Decisions on the questions put to the referendum shall be considered adopted if more than half of all citizens with the right to be included on the voting lists vote in favor of them.

3. It is laid down that during the referendum the powers of the Central All-Russian Referendum Commission are to be exercised by the Central Electoral Commission for Elections of Russian Federation People's Deputies.

The Central All-Russian Referendum Commission is to approve the form and text of the ballot papers no later than 2 April 1993, and also decide the timeframes for the individual stages in the organization of the referendum.

4. It is laid down that the powers of all-Russian referendum district commissions are exercised respectively by the central electoral commissions for elections of people's deputies of republics within the Russian Federation, kray, oblast, and okrug commissions, and the Moscow and St. Petersburg city electoral commissions for elections of people's deputies to the relevant soviets of people's deputies.

The supreme soviets of republics within the Russian Federation and soviets of people's deputies of krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and cities of federal status, where necessary, are to reinforce the membership of the all-Russian referendum district commissions within three days of the entry into force of the present decree.

5. The all-Russian referendum district commissions are to be authorized, in coordination with the relevant soviets of people's deputies, to enlist in order to hold the referendum rayon, city, city rayon, settlement, and rural electoral commissions for elections of people's deputies to the relevant soviets of people's deputies, granting these electoral commissions the requisite powers.

6. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is to lay down:

a procedure for access to the state mass media which guarantees that they are used equally to campaign for and against the questions put to the referendum;

a procedure for funding referendum campaigning which precludes the use for campaigning of Russian Federation citizens' personal funds, money belonging to foreign citizens, people without citizenship, and foreign corporate entities, budget funds, extrabudgetary and hard-currency capital belonging to subjects of the Russian Federation and local budgets, and extrabudgetary and hard-currency capital;

a procedure for funding referendum campaigning using money from enterprises and public associations, as well as from the Russian Federation republic budget;

the procedure for officials from federal organs of Russian Federation state power, organs of state power in

subjects of the Russian Federation, and organs of local self-government to participate in the referendum campaigning.

7. In accordance with Article 125 of the Russian Federation Constitution (Basic Law), the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is to terminate activity linked with the organization of referendums, plebiscites, and other national public opinion polls, focusing its attention on resolving socioeconomic problems.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government, on the submission of the Central All-Russian Referendum Commission, is to resolve questions of material and financial support for the referendum to be held 25 April 1993.

It is laid down that enterprises, institutions, organizations, and state and public organs, in accordance with the RSFSR Law "On the RSFSR Referendum," are to place at the disposal of the all-Russian referendum commissions during the preparation and holding of the referendum the premises, equipment, and transport needed to hold the referendum.

8. The Central All-Russian Referendum Commission is to supervise compliance with legislation during the preparation and holding of the referendum and systematically inform the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and the Russian Federation president of the progress made in preparing for the referendum.

9. This decree enters into force the moment it is published.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

The Kremlin, Moscow, 29 March 1993

Decree on Constitutional System

PM0104102993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Apr 93 Single Edition p 3

[Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies Decree No. 4683-1 dated 29 March 1993: "On Urgent Measures To Preserve the Russian Federation's Constitutional System"]

[Text] Having heard the report "On Urgent Measures To Preserve the Russian Federation's Constitutional System" from V.D. Zorkin, chairman of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court, and having examined the Russian Federation Constitutional Court's findings "On the Consonance With the Russian Federation Constitution of the Actions and Decisions Made by Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin in Connection With His 20 March 1993 Address to the Citizens of Russia," the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies notes that it shares the goals set out in the Russian Federation president's address aimed at observing the foundations of Russia's constitutional system—above all, people's power, federalism, the separation of powers, and the obligation to act in strict accordance with the Federation Treaty.

At the same time, the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies stresses that some of the ways and means selected by the Russian Federation president to achieve these goals do not accord with the provisions of the Russian Federation Constitution and constitute a direct path toward confrontation in society and a deepening of the political crisis.

Reaffirming the measures to implement the constitutional reforms in the Russian Federation outlined by the Eighth (Extraordinary) Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies and taking into account the sharp deterioration in the crisis of federal power structures—a crisis which is threatening the statehood and territorial integrity of the Russian Federation—the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies resolves that:

1. It is laid down that there have been serious violations of the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Federation-Russia, as confirmed by the findings of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court "On the Consonance With the Russian Federation Constitution of the Actions and Decisions Made by Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin in Connection With His 20 March 1993 Address to the Citizens of Russia." The personal responsibility of Russian Federation President B.N. Yeltsin for increasing the confrontation between the authorities and the political confrontation in society is noted.

The institution of Russian Federation presidential representatives in krays, oblasts, the autonomous oblast, autonomous okrugs, and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg is to be abolished. It is noted that the Russian Federation president has failed to carry out the decisions of the Seventh and Eighth Congresses of Russian Federation People's Deputies in this respect.

2. The Russian Federation Supreme Soviet is instructed to petition the Russian Federation Constitutional Court to verify the constitutionality of the Russian Federation president's edicts "On the Activity of Executive Organs Until the Crisis of Power Is Overcome" of 20 March 1993, "On the Russian Federation President's Representatives in Krays, Oblasts, the Autonomous Oblast, Autonomous Okrugs, and the Cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg" of 5 February 1993, and "On Reforming Military Structures, Border Guards, and Internal Troops on the Territory of the Russian Federation's North Caucasus Region, and State Support for the Cossacks" of 15 March 1993; these Russian Federation presidential edicts are to be suspended pending a ruling from the Russian Federation Constitutional Court.

The unshakability of the principles of the Russian Federation's constitutional system—including people's power, respect for human rights, federalism, and the separation of powers—are reaffirmed as the basis for collaboration between the legislature and the executive and for agreement between them, and the timeliness of

the Russian Federation Constitutional Court's actions in defending the Russian Federation's constitutional system is supported.

The Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government is to urgently adopt measures to carry out the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet decree "On the Rehabilitation of the Cossacks" of 16 June 1992.

3. The Russian Federation president and the chairman of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers are instructed to:

form a Russian Federation coalition government (government of national consensus);

transfer to the Russian Federation Council of Ministers-Government all organs and institutions set up under the Russian Federation president which are not covered by the Russian Federation Constitution or the RSFSR law "On the President of the RSFSR" and are carrying out state administrative functions;

abolish the Russian Federal Information Center;

relieve of their positions officials who compromised themselves by preparing the Russian Federation president's 20 March 1993 address to the citizens of Russia and the Russian Federation presidential edicts contravening the Russian Federation Constitution, as well as having by their actions impaired the stability of the constitutional system and incited public discontent.

4. The Constitutional Commission is to submit the Russian Federation draft law "On Amendments and Additions to the Constitution (Basic Law) of the Russian Federation-Russia," which has been agreed with subjects of the Russian Federation, for examination by the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and subsequently submit it for examination by the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies.

5. This decree enters into force from the moment of its publication.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

Moscow, the Kremlin

29 March 1993

No. 4683-1

Decree on Public Order Violations

PM0104125793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Apr 93 Single Edition p 3

[Decree No. 4685-1 of the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies "On the Violation of Legality and Public Order During Rallies in the City of Moscow During the Work of the Ninth (Extraordinary) Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies and Certain Measures To Strengthen Legality in the Russian Federation," signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet, and datelined Moscow, the Kremlin, 29 March 1993]

[Text] During the rallies in the city of Moscow 28 March 1993 there were violations of legality and public order which took the form, in particular, of calls for the dissolution of the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies, the overthrow of the Russian Federation president and the Russian Federation Government, and physical violence against Russian Federation people's deputies, as well as other illegal acts. Resolutely condemning such actions, which undermine constitutional foundations and legality in the country, the Congress of Russian Federation People's Deputies decrees:

1. That the attention of the Russian Federation president and the Russian Federation Government be drawn to the inadmissibility of anticonstitutional appeals and actions by officials of top state organs during their public statements and that the legislatively envisaged steps be taken against them.

2. That the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet immediately petition the Russian Federation Constitutional Court to submit its findings regarding the constitutionality of the actions taken by officials of Russian Federation state organs and Moscow city who took part in organizing and holding the rally on the Vasilyevskiy [St. Basil's] Incline and Freedom and Manege Squares 28 March 1993.

3. That the Russian Federation general prosecutor forthwith conduct a careful investigation into the circumstances linked with the said violations of legality and law and order.

4. In view of the frequent violations of legality by officials and manifestations of corruption within the state apparatus, that the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet be instructed in accordance with Section 3 of Article 116 of the Russian Federation Constitution to set up an investigative commission vested with the requisite powers in accordance with the procedure prescribed by legislation.

[Signed] R.I. Khasbulatov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet

Moscow, the Kremlin, 29 March 1993

No. 4685-1

Khasbulatov Interviewed on Yeltsin, Congress

LD3103205993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1839 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Interview with Russian Supreme Soviet Chairman Ruslan Khasbulatov by journalist Petr Frolov in the television studio in Moscow; date not given—recorded]

[Text] [Frolov] According to the rules of the interview genre, which have been determined not by me, not by a group of people, but by the history of journalism, I should leave all of my personal predilections and views outside the doors of this room and present you with questions based solely on facts. I suggest that we continue this conversation now, during the recording, for exactly as long as the broadcast of the material will last on the air, with one pause so that our cameramen who are working with two cameras can change film. Is this agreeable to you?

[Khasbulatov] Of course, go ahead.

[Frolov] Thank you. If you would permit me to, I would like to begin with the events which we are now facing, and the first of these is the referendum. The Ninth Congress adopted a resolution on this, and four questions will be posed here. One is the president's question and three have been added by the Congress. There is an element of disagreement between what the president proposed and what the Congress finally adopted. In your view, what will happen if the president resorts to holding a plebiscite or a poll in parallel with the referendum? What possible actions might be taken by the Supreme Soviet, the Congress, and you personally?

[Khasbulatov] Your question must be seen from the point of view of what the Constitution demands. Neither the president, nor parliament, nor the Congress can act contrary to the Constitution, and this is what should primarily be borne in mind. I would like to remind everyone that the president is neither a monarch nor a general secretary. We have a constitutional president who has sworn his allegiance to the existing Constitution, incidentally. Therefore, if the president intends to resort to any measures, then his actions must be strictly in accordance with our Constitution. Within the framework of the Constitution and within the framework of the law on the president, the president is naturally free to act and no one can stand in his way. As head of the Russian parliament, I will, of course, cooperate so that no one can hinder the actions of the president.

That is the first answer to your question. The second is that yes, you are right, the president put forward one question and wanted to put to a referendum—by the way, to a referendum; the text of his letter says that. It is true that in one place it speaks about a poll, but further on Boris Nikolayevich makes it more precise and speaks about a referendum.

So what Boris Nikolayevich proposed is a referendum, a referendum with one question: Do you have confidence in the president of the Russian Federation? But the fact is that....[changes thought] Why did the Congress add the following questions: First, do you have confidence in the social and economic policies that have been implemented since January 1992?

I am sorry to have to talk about this, but the fact is that the words of the head of our executive very often differ from his deeds, very often. Therefore we have very serious grounds to consider that in this instance, on the whole, the words could differ from the deeds. Boris Nikolayevich has several times changed his attitude toward a referendum. For example, it is no secret to you that the heads of administrations, chairmen of the republic supreme soviets, chairmen of oblast soviets, and other Russian Federation officials met many times, and the president said then that it is probably not the best time for various referendums and let's work on the economy and the economic reforms. Then these meetings broke up, and again his closest aides maintained that the president had not given up his intention: Again, we will hold either a poll, a plebiscite, a referendum, or whatever, and so on.

Then there's the very formula. What does it mean: Do you have confidence in me? What confidence? Confidence in what specifically? My activities in the foreign policy sphere? Or in internal or economic policies? My foreign policy activities? And so on. You need to ask a specific question. Although, if you ask my personal opinion, not the opinion of the chairman of the Supreme Soviet—but even as the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, well, I was a supporter, incidentally together with other of my comrades-in-arms and many deputies.

It is well known that the policy pursued by Burbulis, Gaydar, and other people from the government virtually collapsed in 1992 and we are now having a very difficult time, the people are having a very difficult time, and there is no reason why they should experience all these difficulties. Therefore, frankly speaking, I would prefer to leave this question as the president formulated it. But it is the will, the constitutional will, the constitutional right of the congress to formulate its own questions. Therefore the president's question on trust remains, and three other questions were also included: Do you have trust in the socioeconomic policy being pursued by the president? And two more questions on which everyone mainly agreed, I do not think there were any major disagreements: Are you in favor of early presidential elections; and, are you in favor of early elections of the people's deputies?

You know, I reached my personal point of view long ago. I asserted that we should hold simultaneous early elections for president and people's deputies. To avoid attempted maneuvering, I supported simultaneous elections, as this would ensure a good turnout and allow normal and proper work to be carried out with the population and the electorate. So, from my point of view, the questions which have been put forward have been drawn up quite well and there is no need to try to do anything else.

If there is only a desire to whip up some sort of mass demonstrations—and calls for uprisings were heard from officials during the congress....[changes thought] if our officials want to maintain peace and calm, they should act precisely within the framework of the Constitution and within the framework of the congress decisions.

[Frolov] In your view, is it now possible to divide responsibility to such an extent between the relevant executive and legislative authorities in conducting policies, as is proposed in the second question or in another question in the referendum—the policy being conducted by Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. The congress and the Supreme Soviet have repeatedly emphasized their responsibility for and participation in what is now going on in the country.

[Khasbulatov] You are right. I personally believe that we are, of course, involved, and to a significant extent, we agreed to the implementation of really radical economic reform. But frankly speaking, I must tell you and the television viewers that the government is not taking into account the system of regulation that they should be taking into account.

Just take a look. The seventh congress took place. It appears for some reason, and I don't know why, that they were not satisfied with the seventh congress. Balanced resolutions were adopted. A constitutional prime minister was finally chosen for the first time. Carte blanche was given, so to speak. Some sort of basic directions for the development of our economy and the implementation of economic reform were defined and Chernomyrdin, who was elected head of the government, was satisfied with these economic resolutions.

Three months have gone by and we have seen no changes, absolutely no changes at all. That is what is strange. We adopt resolutions, they usually agree with them, and then everything continues on in the same old ways, which were defined at some time by Gaydar. We ourselves still don't know what he wanted, to be perfectly frank with you.

[Frolov] Legal experts believe that the attempt, which subsequently succeeded, to place in doubt the resolution of the Seventh Congress by which Chernomyrdin was elected, actually places the government in a difficult position. Many name you as one of those who first raised the question at the Eighth Congress as to whether it would be worth our while to pursue the course of the Seventh Congress and its main resolution of 12 December.

[Khasbulatov] Well, these experts are most probably not conscientious people. No one at this congress, the Eighth Congress, or in parliament has cast any doubt on the election of Chernomyrdin; and his election, his program, and his measures to stabilize the economy bear no relation to the issue of the referendum.

The point is that, as for the cancellation of the referendum, as I've already said, we have begun this conversation in a form in which there are not yet any legislative enactments, there is no actual electoral law, there is no precise machinery for summing up results. After all, it is not fortuitous that we spent a day and a half on discussions. You saw that: What should we do with every point, how should we interpret it? It is an indicator of unpreparedness.

But under pressure from the president's team, so that we could show our fellow citizens that the point was not that we are afraid of some referendum, so that we could really show that we, ourselves, are ready to go to the ballot box, we adopted these decisions on the holding of the referendum—with some imperfections, to be quite honest.

Why? Because we said: But allow us to adopt the law. At the last congress the decision was correctly adopted: Yes, we are not canceling the referendum, but do let the legislators first adopt the customary legislative norms so that there are no arguments.

You are now saying, you see, that doubt is being cast on something. The president also said today: The congress did not manage to complete its work. He is also casting doubt on something. So that there would be no doubts, an electoral law should have been carefully drafted and amendments should have been made to the relevant law on the referendum. But we were not allowed to do so. People began to abuse and criticize us, saying that those deputies behind the Kremlin walls don't know people and their moods, and they are taking away the people's right to vote. But we said: Fine, that's your right. Have a referendum. So the question you are asking is, in general, an artificial, far-fetched question, no matter what experts you've seen.

[Frolov] The question of the election of people's deputies is being put straight to the referendum without any indication of the time of the election and without any indication of what these people's deputies are being elected to—to a bicameral Supreme Soviet which will embody representative power in this country or to the Congress.

[Khasbulatov] But first, for some reason you did not say that the question of early elections for president has been submitted in just the same way, without any indication of the precise time. In other words, there's an equivalent situation. As you saw, I chaired that meeting and I made a serious request that deputies be treated equally in terms of time for elections. If it doesn't indicate a date for reelecting the president, then don't indicate a specific date for reelections of people's deputies.

[Frolov] What should we be ready for?

[Khasbulatov] What should we be ready for? Personally, I thought... [changes thought] You remember my position—no later than spring 1994. But at such a complex time I think we should prepare for elections in the autumn of 1993. But autumn 1993 is the earliest time. Why? Because we need a legislative basis, a law on elections precisely to examine the question of a two-level parliament.

Frankly, if there were no pressure and no distortion of our activities—the activities of deputies—then the congress and deputies would already be practically ready to introduce changes, even to the current Constitution. As you know, we already adopted the basic postulates and concepts for a new constitution at the Sixth Congress,

without a two-level parliament, without a congress, just the Supreme Soviet, as it is today—a two-level Supreme Soviet. So it is clear that the deputies are ready and there is no point in being rude to them. It's not fair, because the future Supreme Soviet is only the Supreme Soviet consisting of two chambers. So we have been charged—by the previous congress, incidentally—with developing an appropriate law and introducing it into the current Constitution.

You saw that right after the congress the deputies really—and here is an indication to you of more or less good faith on the part of our deputies—they didn't even try to disperse to their electoral districts, but started to hold sessions immediately, adopt the necessary laws, and discuss the issues which arose from the decisions that were adopted by the Eighth Congress and the Ninth Congress. Of course, if nobody hinders us, we could bring about these constitutional and political transformations in a peaceful and normal manner.

But some people do not work themselves and they do not allow us legislators to get on with our work. That is what our conditions are like today.

[Frolov] When do you think that a viable draft of the new constitution will appear that will make provision for this and for the conclusions of the Constitutional Court on the incompatibility of some articles of the Constitution, which in effect puts us in a situation where two state systems exist at the same time? When do you think this draft will be possible, since the mechanism for drafting it was ruled out as a result of the congress' decision?

[Khasbulatov] No, you are not right. In the first place, our Constitution, our existing Constitution, is a fully democratic constitution. I would like to recall once again that since we were elected in 1990, over 330—about 340, I think—amendments have been made to it. At the same time, I would like to say that the majority of them were introduced at the proposal of Boris Nikolayevich, both before and after he became president. The most important amendments were also introduced at the suggestion of what we usually call the president's team. We actively supported all these amendments. When people say that we arbitrarily stitch things on and do incomprehensible things and twist the Constitution, you know, excuse me, but this is simply a cynical lie, a blatant and cynical lie.

The point is that the existing Constitution really differs very greatly and qualitatively from the one we had in 1990. By the way, in 1990, if we had not had this Constitution, which had already been greatly changed during the Gorbachev period, it is hardly likely that we would have been elected as people's deputies. Just think: Of the more than 1,040 deputies at the moment of election, only 11 deputies were elected unopposed.

On average there were seven or six and a half rivals for each post. So it is unrealistic—it distorts the truth—to talk about the elections being held at some kind of undemocratic time. Incidentally, the president was elected in the same period. The Union was in existence, the CPSU was in existence, as were the structures. The president was elected under one set of conditions and the Russian people's deputies were elected under the same conditions. So it is a distortion, it is a simple lie, to say that the president was elected on a democratic basis and the deputies on an undemocratic basis.

Lying is a quality peculiar to those who are not in the right. As you know, gossip and lies are resorted to by weak people who are not sure that they themselves are right, people who are really striving either to maintain their power or to gain power and who do so in the most profane manner. So we have no need to be cunning, absolutely no need. The current Constitution is entirely democratic. It is based on the principle of sharing power, an independent judicial and law enforcement system, an independent legislative and representative structure, and an independent executive power structure. It's all there. You are right: This two-level thing is unwieldy, but this too has to be overcome not by revolution, not by onslaught, not by a crushing defeat, not by the elements or by a crowd but by legal, legislative, parliamentary methods. Am I right?

We are preparing for this ourselves. So why do they force us, accuse us, say that we can be compared with some sort of—I don't know—communist past and so on? You know, this propaganda is ugly. It's just ugly, and to put it simply, it's lies.

[Frolov] Is it possible that we will have this draft constitution which envisions evolutionary change (?by summer)?

[Khasbulatov] I think we will if we work. Incidentally, the president himself works together with the chairman of the Constitutional Commission.

Therefore, the chairman of the Constitutional Commission and the president naturally had every chance to prepare and present a constitution at the congress. It is true to say that during the period prior to this—you will recall that at the congress I had to put forward the basic clauses and ideas, as I am deputy chairman of the Constitutional Commission—and Boris Nikolayevich preferred at that stage to stay quiet.

Shakhray put forward his draft constitution, which differs from the constitution that was worked out under the leadership of the president himself. So sometimes it is difficult to understand what the chairman of the constitutional commission and the president want and what his closest comrades-in-arms want. If there is some sort of unified understanding or some sort of unified idea there among them, and if the chairman of the constitutional commission really wants us to succeed in having a new constitution, then I see no reason why we should not have one.

[Frolov] I would like to turn to a question which in terms of bitterness supersedes even the question of the constitution and the question of removing people from their

posts which arose at this congress. This is the question of the media and television. I was a witness: It was said on the air that Russian Unity supporters acknowledged this question as being much more important—the management of television. This resulted in a draft which has not yet been published, a document which has no force but which arouses serious questions in the minds of people working in television and the media and in the minds of lawyers. Running parallel to this is the president's decree and the law on the media. What should be done in this situation? There is clearly a surfeit of norms which only hinders the work of journalists and the attempts of television viewers to understand what journalists are talking about and under what conditions.

[Khasbulatov] First, there is no such thing as parallel decrees. We have a supreme authority in this country—the law. Therefore, all sorts of government resolutions and presidential decrees have a sublegal character.

There is the primacy of the law. Who adopts laws? The Supreme Soviet and the Congress. Therefore, it is their decisions that determine things. If certain decrees from the president contradict these, they will simply be invalid. That is the law as it has been understood since when the concept of law was invented, since King Hammurabi, not to mention the classic Roman law. Our Constitution, too, stipulates that if a presidential decree contradicts the law, it is not valid.

So let's return to decisions adopted by the Congress. I personally do not share the point of view that the question of the media, as framed in the way you said, was more important than the question connected with the attempted coup d'etat. Because you know that any attempted coup d'etat, if successful, is called a coup d'etat. What happens first of all as a result of a coup d'etat? People are deprived of the sources of truthful information. So you, esteemed journalists, must understand that, above all, a very powerful blow against the free press was, naturally, being prepared. Since parliament stopped the attempted coup d'etat, it both defended the rights of the population and defended freedom of information, the freedom of journalists. I would like you, my esteemed friends, to understand this.

Now the second thing. I do not see any grounds for anxiety in the decisions adopted by the congress. What are we talking about anyway? We are talking about setting up so-called watchdog committees, on a mutually agreed basis, so to speak. You will probably again hold this badly put expression against me, but I also laugh at myself sometimes for putting things in such a way. We are talking about setting up so-called watchdog committees which could be fashioned according to the practices adopted by countries that are customarily referred to as democratic. Take, for example, the countries of Western Europe, Scandinavian countries, the United States, where watchdog committees have existed for decades. Members of such committees do not include representatives of some concrete power groups; here we are talking about some respected members of the public whose democratic views and cultural orientation are beyond doubt.

It is natural that while the work on such a law goes on—and the congress has instructed the Supreme Soviet to draft such a law and set forth some proposals—all the television, radio, and other companies, by the way, should take into account different interests so that different points of view on the same problem are being covered.

For example, we have a very complicated social and economic situation. A considerable section of the media, including the television and radio, present matters as if everyone in our country is living happily and contentedly. This is simply not true. It is not true. Therefore, it is a question, not of creating a monopoly, but of destroying the monopoly which has been created.

For example, we have a Ministry of the Press. The question arises—why do you journalists need another Federal Information Center? What is all this? Why? More of these centers, more of these centers. You know previously, when the CPSU was all powerful, there was not the sort of censorship which exists now—this one-sided broadcasting. Moreover, I, for example, am in favor of having no extremes. It is these extremes which are dangerous—be they on the right or on the left, and they very often coincide. Both of them want maximum confusion. We need to reflect precisely and work for the majority of our population and reflect their interests. Therefore, I at least would like to assure you that I will devote all my efforts to seeing that in no way are there any attempts to violate our law on the press, on the freedom of the press, in any way, but on the contrary, to ensuring that this freedom of speech is strengthened.

The precise title of the decision shows that it is a question of the need to destroy the political monopoly over the mass information media, not the contrary. Therefore, I would like to take this opportunity to calm our large corps of journalists here in the capital and in the far reaches of the Russian Federation and assure you that we will simply not allow and cannot allow any monopolies. Why? Because our mass information media should not be dominated by the one single point of view which Poltoranin asserts and which he considers it necessary to reflect. It is simply absurd, however, that everyone in our society, all 150 million of us inhabitants of Russia, will share the views of Poltoranin alone.

[Frolov] Realists believe that a monopoly by a supervisory council, if it is exercised at the point of entry of information, is far more dangerous than any political, state, or legislative monopoly as such, as a phenomenon. In current practice, we do not have control at the point of entry.

[Khasbulatov] I agree with you, Petr, but frankly speaking, I am not very much into these details. Help us legislators to make a correct law and correct provisions regarding these supervisory councils and we will do

everything we can to guard journalists against censorship, as you say, and not to provide an opportunity to block information. It is precisely a question of the population receiving truthful information, not information that has been distorted in the initial stages. That is evident.

[Frolov] Yes, that is indeed what our work is about and what we get paid for.

[Khasbulatov] There is no question about that. I assure you that I am, you know, not just in words but in deeds, a very fierce defender of freedom of speech, the press and information. After all, I myself wrote in the eighties, in the second half of the eighties, a great number of economic articles. Regrettably I wrote many of them for the wastepaper basket.

I am familiar with journalistic work. Something is praised by all of one's colleagues and one pushes it through. One waits. Then it is rejected; it has been cut at the editorial council. Someone there from the Central Committee has not agreed and so on. I already know what censorship means.

Therefore I do assure you that we are in no way interested in instituting censorship. However, I am in favor of truth. Take just one fact, for instance. When the rally was being held on Vasilyevskiy Spusk—just listen to this. I have been told this by officers among our deputies. Indeed, one elderly military man told me that he had paced the area 10 times and that at most it can accommodate only between 17,000 and 20,000 people. Where did the figure 100,000 come from and why was the entire country and the whole world given the impression that there were 100,000 there [laughs] when at most it can only accommodate 20,000 people standing?

There you have it, but the impression created—or what they said—was that there were almost 50,000 in St. Petersburg. There were 3,000 or 4,000 people at the meeting there. This is—what do they call it—information which was received correctly but then distorted. So where is that journalist's strength of yours, where is your pen, your words which should say: Dear people, dear populace, this is not true. There were not 100,000 people there, but 15,000 or 20,000 people. Can you really deceive your own populace, your own people in this way?

[Frolov] Ruslan Imranovich I must now depart a little from the rules which I have already laid down and I will explain why. Our strength in this filmed conversation with you lies in bringing to your attention our very grave concerns over these issues and the obviously conflict-ridden situation in our country at this time, and it is possible that we will have to exist under these conditions for quite some time to come. Ruslan Imranovich, our time has come to an end. Thank you for this interview. I would like to add that it was done with reciprocal agreement and mutual interest.

[Khasbulatov] Thank you. I am equally pleased with our talk, and I would like to tell you that, for my part, I will do everything in my power to prevent this conflict from affecting the interests of our people. I would like to call on everyone to take a calm attitude to these events, even though I know that a calm attitude is practically impossible. But I would like to ask all authorities—including the military, the Ministry of the Interior, and the security bodies—to resist being drawn into this conflict, which, from my point of view, is pointless. We will try—or at least I will try —to resolve it by constitutional means. We have no alternative. Otherwise the same things will happen to us that are now happening in the Transcaucasus, the Dniester region, Tajikistan, or Yugoslavia. It is inadmissible for us to be drawn into any military collisions and bloodshed. Thank you.

Court Says Yeltsin Letter Not 'Official Petition'

OW3103165993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1605 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press secretary of the Russian Constitutional Court Anna Malysheva reported to our Interfax correspondent that the Constitutional Court has received a letter from President Boris Yeltsin enumerating violations of the Constitution at the 9th Congress of the Peoples Deputies. A letter, Malysheva noted, is not an official petition designed in accordance with the standard procedure and it cannot be taken by the Constitutional Court for consideration.

Moreover, the press secretary underlined that Yeltsin's letter is ended with a phrase stating that "a petition of the Russian President on verification of the 9th (emergency) Congress of People's Deputies' resolutions and appropriate appendixes will be presented to the Constitutional Court."

According to the sources in the Constitutional Court, on Wednesday the leader of the Russian President's administration Sergey Filatov visited Chairman of the Constitutional Court Valeriy Zorkin and promised that a petition on verification of the constitutionality of the 9th Congress of the Russian People's Deputies' resolutions "will be presented in the near future."

The press secretary of the Constitutional Court reconfirmed that the Court has received a petition of a Russian People's Deputies' group, signed by the secretary of the Constitutional commission Oleg Rumyantsev and Gleb Yakunin, on verification of the constitutionality of the Congress' resolution on stabilization of the constitutional system in the Russian Federation. The Constitutional Court will consider this document in the near future.

Kostikov Views 'Worsened' Political Scene

PM3103190193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 1 Apr 93 p 1

[Article under the "Exclusive" rubric by Vyacheslav Kostikov, Russian president's press secretary: "What Frightened the Organizers of Revanche: Vyacheslav Kostikov, Russian President's Press Secretary, Ponders the Lessons of the Past Congress of People's Deputies"]

[Text] Since the end of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, the political situation in Russia has worsened. The officially declared aim of the extraordinary session—to introduce an element of stabilization into sociopolitical life—and the unofficial directive—to try to pin the blame on the president or at least bring him into conflict with the government—were not achieved. The deputies did not manage to stabilize the situation. On the contrary, the information coming in from the localities suggests that the Congress introduced an extra note of dissension, since the opposition failed to carry out the impeachment. In our view, this happened for two reasons. First, the Congress understood that the dismissal of the president would cause a wave of discontent among the population, because in recent weeks Boris Yeltsin's prestige has begun to rise sharply for various reasons and is now already near to the level of August 1991. Naturally, the organizers of revanche feared that wave. Second, they understood that the president would not accept impeachment because the actual procedure for removing him from office was conducted in flagrant violation of all constitutional norms.

Thus resistance in the country has grown.

Surely the only positive result of the Congress, from the viewpoint of the forthcoming referendum, at least, is the sharply increased politicization of the country. The Congress stirred the president, the president stirred the people. Now the question can be put in these terms: Should we have a referendum on the unfavorable terms which the Congress has laid down, or should the president confirm the formula which he announced earlier? Both are complex options. Holding the referendum on the Khasbulatov team's terms is to some extent a loser in advance. Why? Because the terms for counting the votes are such that you need 51 percent of the total votes on the electoral roll. That is not possible in any country in the world. Suppose that in our country there are 90 million voters, it is quite obvious that in the present situation it is going to be very difficult to poll over 45 million votes. If you reject the formula proposed by the Congress, this means a new round of confrontation. The Congress will meet again. There will be accusations that the president is violating the Constitution and the impeachment procedure will be repeated.

Furthermore, I am quite sure that in any event the opposition will find a pretext to reconvene the Congress before the referendum and once more try to implement the impeachment procedure and thereby destabilize the situation in the country even more.

Khasbulatov's scenario is generally clear and simple. He wants to incite the president to take unconstitutional measures. The whole of the last Congress was essentially designed for that—to push the president into taking major steps and accuse him of a crude violation of the Constitution and a new attempt at a coup d'etat. According to their schemes, this would make it possible to remove the president from office legitimately.

The president, as we know, did not succumb to this provocation, but I am not sure that the attempt cannot be repeated. The president's life now depends on the enormous support of the people, of course.

There is one more lesson. It is now clear that the opposition was trying to goad the president into "dissolving" the Congress. However, the organizers of this provocative act understand that in principle Khasbulatov does not need the Congress either. He has his Supreme Soviet, which is under his control to a greater extent than the Congress. Essentially, the Supreme Soviet has been transformed into the speaker's in-house staff. Now that he has placed new supporters in the posts of the two deputies and the first deputy, he has a kind of "narrow Politburo" in his hands. This enables him to manipulate parliament.

If he provokes the president into destroying the Congress, the speaker will only strengthen his own positions.

The situation is also complex because since its seventh session the Congress has increasingly eroded the constitutional prerogatives of the head of state. Now the legitimate opportunities are so restricted that to protect at least his minimal rights the president really needs to leave this constitutional field. Of course, he does not want to do that. But the opposition is pushing him toward that step, effectively forcing him to take resolute actions.

The analysis of the Congress results and of what the president may do is still not complete. On Tuesday Boris Nikolayevich met with a large group of people's deputies who support him. There was a frank discussion during which there were some very harsh assessments of the results of the Congress. Some of them are already known from the press. But what should the president do? Getting into a protracted chess game with moves that are difficult to calculate is dangerous. Because with each new Congress, as we can see, the president's powers are restricted. The next session will "truncate" them even further. As a result the president may be driven into a corner. Furthermore it has to be admitted that, despite the fuss about his notorious entourage, the president's apparatus is not very great. There is the Presidential Council, with just 30 people, and a small group of advisers. This is so especially because presidential power itself in Russia, like the president's term of office so far, is less than two years old. Of course, they do not have the necessary experience of maneuvering and compromise, such as Western politicians have. For example, politicians like Mitterrand and Kohl, who have been through

a complex schooling of campaigning in conditions of pluralism and a multiparty system.

Khasbulatov's team is stronger in this regard. It has a powerful battering ram—the Congress—and a very obedient and very competent organ—the Supreme Soviet. Because it is no secret to anyone that the elite of the party nomenklatura—former senior workers of the CPSU Central Committee and party institutions—are gathered in the Supreme Soviet apparatus today. These are people with experience in mass organizational work. In addition, Khasbulatov has the whole structure of the soviets—from the Congress and the Supreme Soviet to the village soviet—in his hands. The president has no equivalent structures. That is why entering into protracted conflict with this machine of revanche is very risky.

Recently I met with Gaydar. "Yegor Timurovich, what would you advise the president to do?" I asked him. He smiled and said: "Only the president can and must decide that."

Says Opposition To Attempt New Impeachment

LD0104105393 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0958 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—"I am absolutely sure that the opposition will find a pretext to convene another congress before the referendum to try to go ahead with impeachment proceedings, which will further destabilise the situation in the country," Russian presidential spokesman Vyacheslav Kostikov said.

In his article published by the newspaper ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI on Thursday, Kostikov said that Russian Parliamentary Chairman Ruslan "Khasbulatov's scenario is simple and clear. He wants to provoke the president to take unconstitutional measures. The past congress was designed entirely to fit this purpose—to cause the president to take serious steps and then accuse him of breaching the constitution and a coup attempt. They hope this will give them legal grounds to remove the president."

"The president did not go for it, but I cannot be sure that there will not be another such attempt," Kostikov said.

He said the "president lives on huge popular support." "In the last few weeks, Yeltsin's rating has begun going sharply up and is now close to what it was in August 1991," the spokesman said.

"The only positive result of the congress from the point of view of the upcoming referendum is the sharply increased politicisation of the country. The congress woke up the president and the president woke up the people," Kostikov said.

Rumyantsev: Centrists Sided With Hardliners at Congress

LD3103162893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1500 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksandr Krasulin]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—The latest Congress of Russian People's Deputies signalled a collapse of the Centrist Movement, according to an influential lawmaker.

There were no leaders capable of uniting the centrist forces. The "Civic Union" which claimed the role solidarised with the hard- line "Russian Unity" group, Oleg Rumyantsev, secretary of the Constitutional Commission, told reporters on Wednesday.

Hard-line lawmaker Vladimir Isakov staged a "provocation" while suggesting to impeach the president as [word indistinct] was clear that the congress will lack votes for that, he added.

Rumyantsev blamed the congress for the current constitutional crisis. Lawmakers "did a lot not to adopt a new constitution", he said.

Boris Yeltsin had a possibility to get a new constitution right after the foiled hard-line coup in August 1991, but he "lacked decisiveness and political wisdom" to do that, according to Rumyantsev, who added that the current draft of the main law worked out with his participation "reflects both liberal and socialist ideas which exist in society".

The lawmaker believes that early presidential and parliamentary elections this November are the only way out of the crisis. He added that elections should be preceded by a congress which is to adopt a new constitution or seriously amend the existing one.

Early elections will become inevitable after the referendum on April 25 as it will show "the unwillingness of the people to participate in it", according to Rumyantsev.

He did not rule out a possibility that the referendum may be accompanied by a nationwide poll. The two plebiscites may have different results and the conflicting parties will not recognise those unsuiting them.

Proposes 'Spiritually Close' Conference

OW3103210693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1606 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The responsible secretary of the constitutional commission Oleg Rumyantsev reported that his last tour to Yugoslavia resulted in a decision to conduct a working meeting of the politicians from Russia, Armenia, Greece, Cyprus, and Yugoslavia to prepare a conference of spiritually close peoples at a non-governmental level.

On Wednesday [31 March] at a meeting with journalists he pointed out that this conference is needed to agree on issues of economic cooperation and political interaction between these countries "because the activity of the Islamic states' organization becomes more and more vivid on the international arena." In Rumyantsev's opinion, the conference will assist in establishing allied contacts with Russia "which are completely lost today."

Rumyantsev also reported that he has received a reconfirmation from the leadership of the Russian government stating that a federal program to develop the Kuril islands will be prepared before June 1 and its financing will apparently be begun this autumn. He declared that currently the Kuril islands should enjoy priority support from the government. "It is necessary to demonstrate to Japan that we are equal partners."

The responsible secretary of the constitutional commission also believes that following the Kuril example Russia "should return the factor of an independent development to itself." The policy of "the Kuril islands' trade" pursued by the leadership of the Russian Foreign Ministry, Rumyantsev says, is "an erroneous and dead-ended one."

Faction Leader Fears Emergency Congress During Summit

OW3103173493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1605 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Co-chairman of the movement Democratic Russia Gleb Yakunin called the referendum's variant chosen by the 9th Congress of People's Deputies "fruitless." At the same time at a press conference on Wednesday [31 March] in Moscow he declared that "there is apparently no other way out but to participate in the referendum."

Yakunin expressed his concern over a possible convocation of the 10th emergency Congress of People's Deputies during the Russian- American summit scheduled for April 3-4 in Vancouver.

He recognized the present tendency of "reduction of President Yeltsin's supporters among the People's Deputies" becoming more obvious. At the same time the number of the President's supporters among the people is growing with every passing day. "It is not quite clear how the People's Deputies differ from the nation's population so greatly."

Filatov Says New Constitution Needed

LD3103194293 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Mar 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent M. Lillevyali] Today Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration, met with journalists in the Kremlin. Naturally, they discussed the Congress of People's Deputies, which ended recently, the forthcoming referendum set for 25 April and the immediate tasks the presidential team is facing. In the first place journalists were interested in the topical problem of mutual relations with representative bodies.

[Filatov] Unfortunately, we are leaving this Congress without consolidation, without the desire for consolidation.

[Lillevyali] Speaking about the referendum, Sergey Filatov noted that to introduce final certainty regarding the further fate of the country, a question on a new constitution should be put without fail.

[Filatov] A new constitution is needed especially because, I believe, it determines all the global, strategic issues, what state we are building and what the structure of bodies of power is.

[Lillevyali] Now a public council is being set up, which will unite political parties and movements to support the President at elections. Boris Yeltsin will tour the country to meet the people, who have already shown their trust in the president once.

[Filatov] Don't get up, I will phone the president.

Television Phone-in Reveals 75 Percent Back Yeltsin

LD0104144993 Moscow Programma Radio Odin Network in Russian 1100 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Russian television has screened a program called "Public Opinion," in which it carried out an express poll of residents of Moscow, St. Petersburg, and other cities in connection with the referendum set for 25 April. The same questions as the ones being submitted to the referendum were asked during the poll. Some 75 percent of those who called the studio expressed confidence in President Boris Yeltsin. Another 24 percent expressed no confidence. At the same time 40 percent called for an early presidential election. An early parliamentary election was favored by 90 percent.

Yushenkov Warns of 'Final Preparations' for Dictatorship

LD0104134293 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1040 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Tamara Ivanova and Yuriy Sizov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Apr—Sergey Yushenkov, first deputy chairman of the Federal Information Center of Russia, has called the draft "Statute on the Security Department of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation", which was considered at a closed session of the parliament Presidium on 30 March of this year, "the final preparations for establishing dictatorship."

Addressing a news conference today, Yushenkov quoted several clauses and points from this document. It says, among other things, that "the security department of the Supreme Soviet provides state protection for the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, personal security for his deputies, members of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, the chairmen of the chambers, people's deputies, and other persons, in accordance with a list determined by the Supreme Soviet." Yushenkov said that the department's functions also include "predicting and bringing to light threats to the vital interests of the objects of state protection and implementing a range of operational and other measures to prevent and neutralize these threats."

In addition to this, the department's tasks include uncovering, warning of, and stopping illegal encroachments on objects under state protection and crimes at the facilities under guard. Yushenkov also said that the officers of the security department—having undergone special training—were to be permitted to keep and carry officially issued weapons and special items. The department "is drawing up and implementing special arrangements to ensure the security of the people under their guard for a particular period and is organizing and implementing arrangements to ensure that sub-units of the guard are at mobilization readiness."

Yushenkov noted that this document had been considered at a closed session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, in the absence of Ruslan Khasbulatov, and was not passed. It was sent on for expert assessment by the relevant committees and commissions of the Supreme Soviet.

Economic Freedom Party Willing To Finance Referendum

OW3103142693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1301 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Co-chairman of the Economic Freedom Party (EFP), Konstantin Borovoy, has stated that he would support Russian President Boris Yeltsin if he decides to hold his own referendum. At a press conference on Wednesday [31 March] in Moscow he let it be understood that the EFP is ready to finance the presidential referendum.

According to Borovoy, the Democratic Russia movement, EFP and other parties supporting the president have created local headquarters where their members "are studying how to get people to vote for Yeltsin."

He reported that on Thursday, April 1, the social committee of democratic forces would meet in Moscow at which "we will try to develop a joint position regarding the referendum."

At the press conference, an EFP statement was distributed which qualifies the procedure for holding the referendum according to the congress' ideas as "an attempt to limit the will of Russian citizens."

Industrialists To Hold 'Emergency' Congress Before Referendum

OW0104130893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1051 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] During an enlarged meeting on Wednesday [31 March], the Board of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs resolved to convene this organization's emergency congress before the April referendum.

The Union's president Arkadiy Volskiy stated that the congress would be convened to state the Union's attitude to the work of the government. So far, the government's program is unclear, he said.

Volskiy criticized the idea of shaping a coalition government, saying that one can't shape a coalition not knowing the real social weight of political parties and movements.

He also said that pending elections, a government of experts should be formed.

President of the League of the Defense Enterprises, Aleksey Shulunov, criticized First Vice-Premier Vladimir Shumeyko for his recent statement to the effect that some of the defense branches should be curtailed, and armaments be imported from other countries.

"Shumeyko must resign of his own accord before it is too late," said Arkadiy Volskiy.

Gaydar Said To Favor New Elections

MK0104074693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 14, 4 Apr 93 (Signed to Press 30 Mar 93) p A7

[Article by Yegor Gaydar, director of Institute of Economic Problems of the Transitional Period, under "In the Country" rubric: "Pursuit Race"]

[Text] To a certain extent the situation in the spring of 1993 was set back in the fall of 1991. And this could hardly have been avoided.

What has been and is happening is comparable with a pursuit race in cycling, when everything hinges on the choice of the moment—when to concede and when to take over the lead. Some 18 months ago those who found themselves out of power were in no great hurry to regain it. They perfectly logically passed the responsibility for economic policy over to their rivals—the democrats. On one hand, the latter could no longer be inactive when the economy was in the grip of a universal commodity shortage, for which they would have to answer. On the

other, they were left only with unpopular steps, since the reserve of "popular" ones had already been totally exhausted during 1987-1991. This was followed by the natural dissatisfaction of society and, in the economy, by the creation of preconditions for a less tough policy. That is, conditions suitable for taking over the lead.

This tactic is so logical that it is practically impossible to fight against it. The only counterweight, which an attempt could have been made to create in order to avoid such a scenario, was to try to get so far ahead during the allotted time that it was impossible to be caught. In other words, to draw into the new relations as many people as possible, who, given all the unaccustomed nature and the burdens of these relations, would feel that there was no going back—this was, nevertheless, worse than going forward. Despite all the problems, this was achieved in part, albeit only in part. Today we are observing precisely how two processes that have been trying to outstrip each other—the creation of the social base of the reforms and the growth of discontent with these reforms and the utilization of this discontent—have come together in the form of an acute political crisis. It was merely a question of time—December 1992 or March 1993....

What is being decided in this conflict? I do not believe that the economy can seriously be returned to the times of the "stable stagnation" economy of the Brezhnev type. There is neither the resource base for this nor even, I believe, the political will of our opponents. Today they are seeking to take over the lead not because they are interested in returning the Brezhnev economy, but because they would like to participate in the distribution of property and to find themselves at the helm of a now somewhat restructured economy. The ruinous nature of their possible victory would consist not in an attempt at "restoration" but in the fact that they, thanks to their natural rejection of consistent market development, would preserve for a long time the painful, interstitial [mezhumochnyy] state of society and the economy—when the economy can no longer work without the market, but when both politics and legislation reliably block stable development on market principles.

What, in fact, is necessary for such development? It must be interesting to invest in the economy. Is there any hope of major investments from the budget?... This means that private, not budget, investments are needed. Is it possible to count on them under conditions not just of high inflation but also of nonguaranteed ownership rights and active anti-entrepreneurial demagoguery? Under these conditions we also get in our own fashion a stagnant economy, not a growing one, in which only prices grow, with constant redistribution in favor of the financial, intermediary sector and with increased social differentiation. This is a naturally explosive mixture and a direct road to Weimar Germany. Only the creation of stable market institutions gives Russia a chance of real growth, such as Germany achieved after World War II. But without a reliable political base it is impossible to create such institutions....

Under conditions of economic crisis and high inflation, elections are a two-edged and even a dangerous thing. But, unfortunately, other options are not visible. In our situation, moreover, the sooner elections are held, the better. The first reaction to economic difficulties is disappointment and depoliticization. You promised universal happiness, it has not come, and so be off with you all. This is the most terrible thing.... An element of political mobilization has now reemerged for a while, caused by apprehension and even fear when you realize just what this "be off with you all" means, who specifically will come along, and what he will do to you.

A delay over elections is fraught with the danger of both sides' being drawn into a duel of numerous populist promises. But democratic power is known to be doomed in this competition. In such "promising" politics it will not, all the same, outdo its opponents, for it still has some restrictions, whereas they have virtually none....

Journalists Oppose 'Censorship' Resolution

LD0104122193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1145 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Apr—The journalists of ITAR-TASS have expressed their support for the appeal by their radio and television colleagues to the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation regarding the resolution of the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies, which is basically aimed at a veiled return to censorship.

The ITAR-TASS journalists' statement points out that the sphere of free and democratic information in Russia is single and indivisible. If the move with regard to television companies is successful, the next move will be to establish control over other sources of information. Journalists of the electronic and printed press, who value very highly the freedom of speech given to them by the "Law on the Mass Media," must join efforts in the struggle to oppose any threat to it from any "branch" of power, the ITAR-TASS journalists' statement says.

Poltoranin Says Media To Remain Free

LD0104143193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1335 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Tamara Ivanova and Yuriy Sizov]

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—Russia's Federal Information Centre Chief Mikhail Poltoranin said the main result of the Ninth Congress is that it revealed the balance of powers in the country.

Speaking at a news conference in Moscow on Thursday, Poltoranin said the congress's attempt to take over the mass media and its resolution setting up a watchdog committee was no surprise. He expressed confidence

that the Constitutional Court would determine the constitutionality of the resolution.

Poltoranin stressed that President Boris Yeltsin remains adherent to democratic reforms and "will act not by methods of authoritarian pressure, but by a method of onward democratic movement through expanding the rights of the people of Russia."

Poltoranin recalled the parliament's attempt to take over IZVESTIYA newspaper, saying that deputies' talks about the freedom of the mass media should be separated from real deeds. He said the congress resolution has been suspended pending a court decision, adding that the Federal Information Centre continues to perform its tasks, including to prepare an economic basis for creating truly free news media.

He said calls and letters from the provinces are especially worrisome. They report about attempts to seize local radio and television stations by conservative-minded bodies of power. Poltoranin said the president, who is the guarantor of citizens' freedoms and rights under the Constitution, "will not allow (anyone) to abuse the mass media."

He said the president has urged the interior minister and other bodies to take measures preventing attempts to involve the mass media in tangled and no-winner fighting.

Further Poltoranin, Others Comment

LD0104014693 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1425 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Studio discussion program presented by Yuriy Mironov with Mikhail Poltoranin, head of the Russian Federal Information Center; Igor Golembiovskiy, editor in chief of IZVESTIYA; and Vladislav Starkov, editor in chief of ARGUMENTY I FAKTY; from the "Thoughts on Freedom of Speech" program—live]

[Excerpts] [Mironov] At the center of our attention and of our discussion is the specific resolution by the congress—it sounds good, doesn't it—on measures to safeguard the freedom of speech. Good God, we should be welcoming this.

[Poltoranin] Excuse me for breaking into the conversation, but the Bolsheviks never wrote about repression or intensifying repression; they always wrote about liberating people and so on; that is, they do one thing, but intend another and write another.

[Golembiovskiy] It is all for the good of the people.

[Poltoranin] It is all for the good of the people. What we are talking about here is the seizure of the media by representative bodies, by the Supreme Soviet. From congress to congress they have been taking rights away from the president and from executive authority. The media remained, working for democracy. So they, I mean the Supreme Soviet, had to take control of them. [passage omitted]

[Golembiovskiy] You spoke about the freedom of speech, indeed, who can be against it! If one reads the decision attentively, it contains two cardinal moments. The first one ... while everybody is concentrating on the supervisory councils, on whether they could become censors, so to speak, or political tools, I think that the heart of the matter is not there, not in the councils. There are similar councils in the West, too, and they have varied functions and so on. The main thing is that the Supreme Soviet has usurped the right to deal with cadre policy. This was straightforwardly put down in writing. That is, the supervisory councils appoint the chairman of Ostankino, for instance, or the head of the Russian Television company and so on. [passage omitted]

The second thing is the problem of financing. The decision does not say directly that financing will be in the hands of the Supreme Soviet but this provision will be further developed. [passage omitted]

[Mironov] We have a broadcast entitled "Live Dialogue" which goes out on Sundays. The very philosophical concept of this broadcast means that it unfailingly includes representatives of the opposition. It has been going out for about a year and a half or for a year, to be precise. The opposition takes part in it all of the time.

[Starkov] Let us assume that this is not enough, then this question should be resolved in a civilized manner. The question should be put on the agenda of having a law on parties where each party is allocated its place on television, as happens in all civilized countries. Everything depends on the standing that the particular party has among the electorate, that is, the number voting for it. One party may be given one minute on air and another party may be given 10 minutes on air. That is a civilized method. It is done for everyone with the exception of those parties which call for the overthrow of the existing structure.

Some of our newspapers simply howl from their pages that someone must be shot, and so on and so forth, and call people criminals whose crimes have yet to be proved. So, there is an absolutely civilized method. But we do not have a law on parties, and until there is a law on parties, I consider that this decision by the congress is to say the least premature.

[Poltoranin] We are lacking not just a law on parties. We are lacking several laws. When the Supreme Soviet passed the decision on the referendum it turns out that one law is lacking, a second. a third, a tenth, the things that the Supreme Soviet should be getting on with but it constantly concerns itself with some Ivanov or Petrov.

[Mironov] ... or with Poltoranin.

[Poltoranin] ... or Poltoranin and everyone. The procurator general, Stepankov, is constantly at the ready with

his finger on the trigger and is waiting to be brought out again and told: investigate this and do that. This is really some sort of communist inquisition. [passage omitted]

The reason why we cannot look at the problem—of taking control of the mass media—on its own is because it is one part of the creeping constitutional coup which is being carried out in Russia at the moment when the presidential power is being overthrown and the attempt is being made to overthrow, together with the president, the whole democratic course, and the whole of democracy. Without the mass information media, which today in general defend democracy, it is not possible for them to do that. [passage omitted]

There is no duality of power. The fact that this structure, these television companies, are set up under the presidential wing shows that they are not part of the government or of the Supreme Soviet; they are simply under the shield, under the umbrella, of the president. Even if you got 100 people together, I assure you, I will stick my neck out on this, that not one of them will say that the Federal Information Center gave any orders or brought in even any element of censorship. No. That did not happen and it is not happening. What we do is entirely different. [passage omitted]

[Starkov] Our founders are the journalistic workforce and the editors. But what insurance do we have against the congress deciding one day to foist co-founders on us? [passage omitted]

I have another question. If you read this decision carefully, it talks about supervisory councils. An innocent little thing, a supervisory council. Certainly, they exist in many countries. But it is one thing if we have a supervisory council—I do not mind taking advice from somebody sometimes—which has people like Svyatoslav Fedorov and Bulat Okudzhava and other people who are well-known and authoritative in our country, that is one thing. But if it includes the people who were once included in the supervisory council for ARGUMENTY I FAKTY, excuse me, but that is something completely different. They would twist the arms of the editorial board, and every time they would make recommendations on what to write, how to write it, what to write about, and you would be put on the carpet when it did not correspond with the understanding of some person, sometimes quite illiterate, who was interfering in our journalistic work. So it is not that innocent, all of this. [passage omitted]

[Poltoranin] There is another point which I feel is important. Deputies believe that with the aid of this supervisory council and with the aid of some other ... [changes thought] they can seriously tackle the problem that they want to tackle, but they forget completely that it is enormously difficult to do that, because television is subsidized not only by the state, but by commercial structures, industrial enterprises, and sponsors. Practically all our evening television time was bought long ago, it was sold long ago, because otherwise we would not have had enough even to maintain the whole complex. [passage omitted]

I would like to take this opportunity to tell the chairmen of the regional television companies who are perhaps worrying today that for the present nothing will change. These television companies and their founders will remain the same because the agreement of the founders is needed for there to be co-founders—that is their labor collective and our federal bodies of executive authority—and for the present we will not agree to this. If there will be any attempts to take any peremptory action then there is the presidential decree on protection of the media and in it there is an instruction to the Ministry of Internal Affairs to offer protection and maintain order. I fear only one thing—that these people who already know no limits and no boundaries of any sort do not simply want to gain access but want violent clashes as they try and take control. I will repeat that they should not be successful. [passage omitted]

[Poltoranin] They triumphed de jure, that is to say they were victorious in the Kremlin Palace, at the Palace of Congresses, but they cannot be victorious with this resolution in real life. First, because journalists will not surrender. You already know that at Ostankino and at Russia's State Television Channel the journalists have said that if all this comes into being then they reserve the right to strike. Other journalists will also not submit to this. The president will not abandon us. The president is obliged to act. He will not simply issue his decree. The president is the guarantor of citizens' rights and freedoms and we are talking here about freedom of speech which is guaranteed in the Constitution. If the president does not defend the media then the people will shout for his impeachment. That is much more terrifying. The president must choose between the congress and the people. Therefore I would say that this is one of those empty resolutions which causes a great furore but which will end up as barely a whistle.

[Mironov] The president knows how to fight against this?

[Poltoranin] The president is simply obliged to ensure that this does not take place. They know this. I would simply call this resolution a provocation. It is just one more provocation along with a number of other provocations which are impossible to implement without confrontation. All the time they are seeking confrontation. [passage omitted]

[Golembiovskiy] Mikhail Yuryevich, I think that, even so, we should not lay it on so thick. I, for one, do not believe either in a civil war or in any serious clashes within the country and so on. I think, in fact, that it is an instrument of the other side. It is a bugbear, a scarecrow. It is set alight and so on. Well, I do not know: from all that we know and feel—take your closest associates, your near and dear ones—in the people there is undoubtedly a perfectly healthy principle that will certainly not allow

that border to be crossed. One must be careful here. No, on the contrary. I am sure that the referendum, despite the cunning question and the traps laid by the president, will show how sensible we are nevertheless.

Ousted Economy Minister Nechayev Interviewed

MK3103125093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 1

[Interview with dismissed Russian Economy Minister Andrey Nechayev by Yuriy Zaynashev; place and date not given: "Gaydar's Men Out in Cold. Andrey Nechayev: 'I Do Not Know Whether There Has Been a Government That Could Have Held Out...'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The Congress of Russian People's Deputies has been a political earthquake. After every earthquake we count the political corpses. Thus, in the Ninth Congress "Gaydar's boy" Andrey Nechayev was removed as minister of the economy...

[Zaynashev] I have no grounds to declare: "The reforms are finished! The Gosplan [State Planning Committee] will be revived!" The principle of "nobody is irreplaceable" does not apply and for the time being there is no way a new minister will be appointed.

[Zaynashev] Where do you go from here?

[Nechayev] I will probably be involved in setting up a Russian financial corporation. An edict on it has already been signed but, apart from this piece of paper, there is neither a building nor personnel. It will be a financial structure fulfilling the role of the government's agent for priority investment projects.

[Zaynashev] Is this corporation under the aegis of the gigantic corporation of Yuriy Petrov, the recent leader of the Kremlin apparatus?

[Nechayev] No, the concept of "my" corporation appeared long ago, the project for it went the rounds of the president's apparatus, and then I read in astonishment the edict on Petrov's corporation with very similar objectives. But Petrov's corporation is involuntarily "inclined" toward the West and foreign investors. Whereas I would work more with domestic credits. Soon I will be meeting with Jacques Attali (president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development—Yu. Z.) concerning the corporation.

[Zaynashev] A dismissed minister is a free bird. What kind of person is the man you called Stepanych [Chernomyrdin] among yourselves?

[Nechayev] I would mention one undoubtedly positive quality of Viktor Stepanovich: He is a fast learner. Nonetheless the gas minister (which he was) is more of an engineering than an economic post. The premier has a healthy practical bent. When he encounters theory, rejection does not occur, although he does try to interpret it in his own way.

[Zaynashev] Why exactly were you at variance?

[Nechayev] I do not know, the initiative for the parting was not mine. I think his notion of a man who can fulfill the duties of minister of the economy does not coincide with mine or with the image of me that he had formed. As far as I know the candidates selected by Chernomyrdin are all people out of the traditional "Gosplan" mold.

[Zaynashev] What is your opinion of the president?

[Nechayev] I was walking along Vasilyevskiy Hill to the "Democratic Russia" rally, and people in the column recognized my face and asked: You have been dismissed, and yet you are here? Yes, we all have our own criticisms of the president: that he is inconsistent, that he vacillates, that he offers up his associates for the sake of an illusory hope of compromise. As 1992 showed, the offerings and sacrifices were in vain, agreement was still not reached.

Nevertheless, right now the president is the only guarantor of stability and the reforms. I do, of course, have personal grievances against him. After the criticism of me in February, he did not meet me once (maybe it was up to me to take the initiative?)—he did not hear my opinion. Not excuses, but my position. Yet the minister of the economy is not the lowest person in the cabinet. It is his right, but I find it incomprehensible in human terms.

[Zaynashev] In an interview with MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS last August you wittily remarked: The Gaydar government is like a potato: either it will be eaten in winter or sown in spring... Now you have been dismissed. Exactly whose fault is it that the ruble is not healthy yet?

[Nechayev] We all bear our own share of responsibility. The Supreme Soviet, which has adopted clearly proinflationary decisions; the Central Bank, which has issued money without the government's knowledge; and the Council of Ministers itself, which has simply failed to hold out under savage pressure... When everybody—parliament, the bank, unions of industrialists, the powerful agrarian lobby—is against it. Maybe only a dictatorship could have withstood the pressure, but our cabinet did not even have a formal chairman. Although we did not retreat far.

The second mistake: Lack of coordination within the cabinet itself. Essentially the role of coordinator was fulfilled by Gaydar on his own, but even the potential of a genius is not unlimited.

[Zaynashev] What are the immediate steps?

[Nechayev] First, everyone feels that authority within the country has been lost. Governability must be increased and the lack of coordination within the Council of Ministers must cease.

Second, a clear position must be taken regarding the regions and the right finally to put them in order. At the moment political flirting is going on with the provinces: Whoever makes the most noise, whoever blackmails the most, whoever pays the most grudgingly...

[Zaynashev] Is a "Belovezhskaya Forest" possible in Russia?

[Nechayev] If it is, then in the Chechen way—that is, an attempt to stand apart somehow. There are too many republics in Russia and even more purely Russian oblasts, therefore it is unlikely that most of the Federation's subjects will agree among themselves, as happened in Alma-Ata in 1991...

[Zaynashev] A telephone call interrupts the interview:

[Nechayev] Hello, Vas! Yes... Yes... If so, come to me as chief financier and I will put up a plaque in the corporation: "Barchuk Comes Here." But it is too late for you to learn Norwegian... Yes it is cold, Vasya, they travel by dog there...[Nechayev ends]

According to an official rumor the other casualty at the Ninth Congress—dismissed Finance Minister Vasiliy Barchuk—is going to be ambassador to Norway. Nechayev was also invited to think about the Russian slot at the European Bank, but he declined: Right now it is more interesting in Moscow.

The 40-year-old Nechayev's place is now likely to be taken by a 50- to 60-year-old captain of industry used to giving orders and instructions but unlikely to be capable of actually structurally reorganizing the economy. Andrey Alekseyevich became uncomfortable in the Council of Ministers on Chernomyrdin's arrival after the Seventh Congress. His retirement is now a postscript to December 1992.

Sverdlovsk Deputy Says Yeltsin To Conduct Opinion Poll

OW3103203393 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1959 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin will definitely conduct an opinion poll among Russians on the new Constitution in parallel with the April 25 referendum. Deputy Vitaliy Mashkov, a presidential representative in the Sverdlovsk province, declared on Wednesday [31 March] in Yekaterinburg that "it will be announced in the near day or two."

According to Mashkov, the 9th Congress of the People's Deputies has moved the country to a constitutional crisis. Mashkov believes that it can be solved by adoption of a new Constitution. At present, he said, initiative groups to hold the referendum and opinion poll are being formed in Yekaterinburg and the Sverdlovsk province. In case official structures refuse to conduct an opinion poll on the new Constitution, Mashkov noted, the population will be questioned at the enterprises or by means of a sociological investigation.

Speaking about the possible development of events in the case of the President losing at the referendum, Mashkov expressed the conviction that there exists "a 100-per cent probability" that the leadership of the Supreme Soviet will seize power. "Everything is ready for this, there is no hope of reforming the Supreme Soviet," Mashkov declared.

'Confrontation' Factor Boosts Yeltsin Rating in Moscow

PM0104123593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition p 4

[Report by Nugzar Betaneli, director of the Sociology of Parliamentarism Institute: "Politicians' Ratings"]

[Text] The independent Sociology of Parliamentarism Institute took its latest weekly poll of a representative sample of thousands of Muscovites 25 March. Here is what the comparative analysis revealed:

As long as the legislature and the executive are "beating up on each other" at the Congress, the political situation in Russia threatens to develop to its own scenario—the polarization and division of society into "supporters" and "opponents" is dangerously gathering pace, while the confrontation is affecting more and more citizens of Russia. Thus, today approximately 70 percent of Muscovite voters have essentially been drawn into the conflict between the legislature and the Russian president—55 percent side with B. Yeltsin, 6 percent with the Congress and the Russian Supreme Soviet, 12 percent are still unsure of their position, while 27 percent are keeping out of the conflict and are "on nobody's side."

The current phase of the "donnybrook" between the authorities has been a powerful generator of propresidential views and has maintained the anti-Congress mood in society. Many Muscovites (55 percent) support Yeltsin's address to the people, 13 percent do not, 12 percent know nothing about it, and one in five (20 percent) are unsure where they stand. In addition, 50 percent consider the Constitutional Court ruling which deemed unconstitutional the president's address to the people to have been "wrong," while 9 percent consider it "correct." Clearly, for this reason 46 percent of Muscovites do not trust Constitutional Court Chairman V. Zorkin, 12 percent do trust him, while 42 percent are don't-knows. The idea of the president's resignation (impeachment) is also clearly disapproved of by the majority (65 percent) of Moscow voters, only 10 percent support it, 6 percent "aren't bothered at all," while 14 percent are don't-knows.

The decline in the masses' faith in the Congress of People's Deputies has been steady of late: The Sixth Congress was trusted by 28 percent, the Seventh Congress by 18 percent, the Eighth Congress by 10 percent,

and the Ninth Congress again by 10 percent. Over the past year the level of public distrust of the Congress has risen from 49 percent in April 1992 to 64 percent at the start of this month, and to 68 percent on 25 March.

The conflict between the lawmakers and the president has sharply exacerbated voters' political activeness: The number of Muscovites who intend to take part in the April referendum has risen over the past two weeks from 42 percent to 71 percent.

Judging by the poll, so far the Russian president's hopes of having the support of ordinary voters are well founded. Many people (50 percent) are pinning their hopes on Yeltsin to get Russia out of the current crisis, 14 percent look to V. Chernomyrdin, 8 percent to Russian Vice President A. Rutskoy, 2 percent to Constitutional Court Chairman Zorkin, and 1 percent to Supreme Soviet Chairman R. Khasbulatov. But (and this is worth noting!) 19 percent have no faith in anyone.

It should be stressed that "pro-Yeltsin" sentiments were intense at the time of the confrontation, and it would be a mistake to directly extrapolate the results of the 25 April referendum from this. Everything will depend on the actual political situation. If confrontation "subsides," then, against the backdrop of the continuing economic crisis, the president could lose out in competition with "himself." But, for the time being, the "Yeltsin phenomenon" is working for the umpteenth time.

Just as before, at a critical moment of confrontation the president's ratings have risen sharply: The number of Muscovites whose attitude toward his activity is "positive," or one of "positive interest," has risen from 36 percent to 53 percent in the past two weeks alone. And the number of active supporters, which does not usually exceed 2-3 percent, has hit 7 percent for the first time in the past year. At the same time, 7 percent are "indifferent" about B.N. Yeltsin's activity, while 28 percent are "negative" or "cautious" about it.

The rating of other politicians are as follows: Six percent of Moscow voters have a "positive" attitude or one of "some positive interest" toward Khasbulatov, 10 percent are "indifferent," and 71 percent are "cautious" or "negative." By comparison, Rutskoy's rating is higher—22 percent of Muscovites have a "positive" attitude or one of "positive interest" toward the vice president, 14 percent are "indifferent," and 40 percent are "cautious" or "negative."

Yakut Leaders Voice Support for Yeltsin, Referendum

OW0104112593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1049 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The President of Yakutia (an RF [Russian Federation] republic in East Siberia) Mikhail Nikolayev and the chairman of the republican Parliament Kliment Ivanov agree that the reason for the political crisis in Russia is the reluctance of the federal authorities, above all the Supreme Soviet, to put a federative treaty into effect. They voiced such a view at a joint news- conference in Yakutsk on Thursday [1 April].

In Mr. Nikolayev's view, "only contractual and constitutional relations will save Russia from dictatorship." He declared support for the initiative put forward at 9 Congress by deputies from Nizhniy Novgorod to set up a federation council to be subsequently transformed into one of the two houses of a new federal Parliament.

Mr. Nikolayev believes that the RF [Russian Federation] republics and other territories (kray and oblast) should join the federation council on a parity footing. At the same time, he wished that they'd be represented in the council as inter-regional entities, like Far Eastern, Ural or Siberian associations, rather than as separate regions.

Mr. Ivanov said that "a referendum on 25 April will settle the discord in the top echelons of power in Russia." In his opinion, after the referendum, early Presidential and Parliamentary elections will be inevitable.

Appreciating President Yeltsin's role, he said that "Mr. Yeltsin has done a lot for Yakutia" and doubted that "another president will do that much."

Yakutia's leaders unequivocally supported a referendum on executive power. However, they dismissed the existing draft of a new constitution of Russia as unacceptable since it omitted a federative treaty and fixed the status of Russia as a unitary state.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Decree Strips Firms of Foreign Trade Privileges

LD3103123693 Moscow Radio Moscow World Service in English 1100 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin has signed a decree stripping industrial enterprises of their privileges in foreign trade. In this connection experts say the list of enterprises and organizations which seek to be excluded from the general rule takes up several pages. As a result, Russia's federal budget fell short of billions of dollars. Specialists believe the decision to review the privileges is directly connected with the problem of paying Russia's foreign debt.

Council of Ministers Presidium Meets To Discuss Exports

LD3103190193 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Report by correspondent Sergey Milyanchikov; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] A sitting of the Presidium of the Russian Council of Ministers with Viktor Chernomyrdin in the chair was held in Moscow today. A draft state program for stimulating exports was proposed as the main issue. The program envisions the preferential development of exports of machine-building goods, high technology items, and highly processed raw materials. The Presidium also examined issues relating to a plan for Presidium sittings for the next three months and the next extended sitting of the Council of Ministers. Members of the Presidium are to examine draft statutes on the Ministry of Agriculture and the Ministry for Fuel and Energy.

Approves Draft Plan To Boost Exports

OW3103221993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1759 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Senior cabinet ministers ended a private meeting on Wednesday [31 March] by approving on the whole a draft plan to increase the country's industrial exports during 1993-1995.

Engineering exports are to double in 1996 compared to the 1992 figure, to bring in an annual $15 Bn [billion] by the turn of the century.

The three-section plan provides for measures to stimulate industrial exports, promote export-oriented production and to create and develop export infrastructures. Experts of the Ministry for Foreign Trade Relations say Rbl [ruble] 350 Mn [million] spending from the federal budget will be needed to carry out initial measures to stimulate industrial exports. Plans are under way to ensure a steady 5-10 percent annual growth of manufacturing exports as a shorter-range priority.

Other immediate priorities include the creation of an export- import bank of the Russian Federation with registered capital of Rbl 80-100 Bn (mainly at the cost of hard currency donations of $100-150 Mn) as well as special government spending of Rbl 200-250 Bn to set up an insurance fund for export-import operations.

Trade barriers are to be lifted already this year on imports and exports of materials and products within the framework of international industrial cooperation. The mandatory sale of part of foreign currency revenues derived as part of such cooperation is also to be revoked.

The number of specialized agencies dealing in fuel exports is to be cut down to five or ten in 1993.

Senior cabinet members are resolved to finalize the draft and adopt it together with a government resolution after coordinating the plan with the regions and parliament in four-weeks' time.

A decision was also taken to hold a full government meeting on April 22, with representatives of Russian autonomies and regions also attending it, to discuss the cabinet's performance in the first quarter of this year.

Plans To Double Exports of Finished Goods

LD3103174193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1603 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—Traditional export of raw materials does not suit Russia any longer and the government is planning to double the 1992 proceeds for exported machinery by 1996 and to increase the sum up to 15 billion dollars by the end of the century.

The government approved on Wednesday the programme for boosting Russian industrial exports in 1993-95 which was presented by Foreign Economic Relations Minister Sergey Glazyev.

The programme provides for increased exports of machinery, both civilian and military, and envisages a greater stimulating and regulating role of the state.

The minister said the growth of export of Russian-made machinery is currently impeded by its low quality and by Western countries who do not allow Russian companies producing hi-tech equipment to appear on the world markets. Among other reasons Glazyev cited poor financial and technical structure of foreign economic activities.

Export is to become one of the basic factors of restructuring Russian economy, according to the programme.

Priority measures include a speedy integration of Russian industry into the international cooperation system, the creation of export-supporting structures, such as insurance system, export- import bank, leasing support system, as well as promoting of foreign trade shipments and the development of export-oriented production during privatisation.

Long-term measures include the development of export-oriented branches of economy, state purchases of export-intended products, fast renewal of capital goods of export-oriented enterprises.

Tariffs will be used as an instrument to make enterprises produce goods which will compete on the world market.

Glazyev also proposed to create a special ministry to promote industrial exports, however the government turned down the idea.

The programme is now to be agreed upon with Russian regions and parliament.

Approves Agricultural, Industrial Measures

LD0104103993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1558 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Excerpt] Moscow, 31 Mar—In addition to the program of measures to stimulate industrial exports from Russia in 1993-1995, the Presidium of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Federation adopted provisions today on the Ministry of Agriculture and on the State Committee for Industrial Policy. A provision on the Ministry of Fuel and Power Engineering that was submitted to the Presidium was criticized in a number of instances and was sent back to be improved as soon as possible. [passage omitted]

Government Taking Steps To Form CIS Common Market

LD3103181893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1706 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Filatov]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—"Russia is calling and taking concrete steps to set up CIS common market," Deputy Chairman of the Russian Council of Ministers, Russian Minister for Agriculture, Aleksandr Zaveryukha, said at a news conference today.

Zaveryukha led a Russian delegation to a conference of heads of the agrarian-industrial complex of former Soviet republics, which was held in Akmola (Kazakhstan) on March 29-30.

An intergovernmental council for problems of the agrarian- industrial complex was set up at the conference with heads of the attending delegations signing a corresponding document.

According to Zaveryukha, the council will coordinate economic activities aimed at developing mutually advantageous cooperation in agricultural machine-building, cattle-breeding, seed-sowing and other spheres of agriculture.

"Agricultural workers want to set an example to other industries so that they, in turn, establish mutually advantageous contacts with other CIS countries and in this way set up the CIS common market. We cannot do without each other, especially in agriculture," Zaveryukha said.

Touching upon general economic plans, the Russian vice-premier categorically came out against raising prices for energy carriers, saying that "it will lead not only to another upsurge of food prices, but can undermine spring sowing campaign altogether."

Living Standard Edict Seen Jeopardizing Austerity Plan

MK0104070093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 9

[Yegor Medvedev report: "Edict on Living Standard Stabilization. President Willing To Sacrifice Financial Stabilization"]

[Text] Boris Yeltsin continues his intensive legislative activity: As KOMMERSANT-DAILY reported on 30 March, he issued the edict "On Urgent Measures To Stabilize the Standard of Living for the Population of the Russian Federation in 1993," which has a distinct "social thrust." The implementation of the edict may run counter to the government's policy of austere financial stabilization since the edict calls for measures from the "unconventional" stabilization package, such as the introduction of caps for price and wage rises coupled with large-scale efforts to support the social sector.

Measures to stabilize the living standards provided for in the edict fall into four categories: the regulation of wages, social safety nets, financial backing for free health care, and the introduction of price controls. Under the edict, it is proposed to increase the base rate of remuneration for the budget-financed sector to 4,500 rubles [R], which will cost the treasury around R300 billion a month. This means that substantial amendments need to be made to the budget that has just been passed by the parliament, and it confirms the view that under hyperinflation and an acute political crisis Yegor Gaydar's idea of approving the state budget once each quarter is bound to reemerge. Another consequence of the basic wage rate increase appears to be the imposition of extra taxes. The edict calls for proposals on tax regulation to be made to the government in April linking wage costs to production growth. This proposal means that the wage fund will be effectively frozen, which is bound to prompt significant changes in the taxation procedure. This is despite assurances, which were made at the meeting between entrepreneurs and Deputy Finance Minister Sergey Gorbachev on 29 March, that the taxation system will remain unchanged. This meeting was perfectly in line with the edict's concept of "social partnership" between the executive branch, the trade unions, and employers for the purpose of reaching agreement on measures to stabilize prices and wages and to curb inflation.

The edict recognizes the need for creating an anti-inflation "life buoy" in the form of fixed wages. It may be a sign of the president's approval of the "unconventional" stabilization program proposed by the Central Bank, whose policies are opposed by Finance Minister Boris Fedorov. In view of this one can predict mounting contradictions between the social bent of the presidential decisions and austerity measures of financial stabilization taken by the government. If these contradictions become aggravated, the government may formally yield to the president's demands and agree that "unconventional" stabilization measures may be taken by local authorities, which have traditionally interpreted the center's decisions in a broad fashion. Seen from this point of view, the regulation of prices of staple foods and key services proposed by the edict on the basis of granting broad powers to local authorities fits organically into the broader picture of the more and more unmanageable economy and will result in additional conflicts between the center and the regions.

[Article contains the following boxed passage]

The presidential edicts calls for:

Social safety nets for the population:

—to determine legislatively the subsistence minimum as a social standard of economic policy;

—to increase the role of social protection funds for the population by identifying permanent sources of their replenishment;

—to draw up regional social protection programs;

Measures to regulate remuneration of labor:

—to increase the base remuneration rate for first-category workers to R4,500;

—to link wage costs to production growth;

Measure to support health care:

—to provide for additional funding of state and municipal health care institutions;

Anti-inflation measures:

—to coordinate efforts of the executive branch, the trade unions, and employers to stabilize prices and wages;

—to give local executive authorities the right to apply price regulation selectively.

Preliminary Data on First Quarter's Economic Performance

PM3103101793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 31 Mar 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Irina Demchenko report: "Political Chaos in Russia Reflected in Its Economy"]

[Text] The preliminary figures on the socioeconomic situation in Russia on the basis of the results for the first quarter of 1993 show that the fall in production has been considerably greater than in the same period last year.

We have managed to obtain these figures unofficially, but from an absolutely official source. The indicators are by way of a forecast—which is understandable, incidentally, because the final results for the quarter will be compiled by the Russian Federation State Committee for Statistics 10-14 days after the quarter ends.

The indicators—with the exception of the financial indicators—are quoted as a percentage of the corresponding period of 1992 in comparable prices (or, when it comes to specific items of production, in physical terms). The preliminary figures we have obtained will be included in the report on Russia's socioeconomic position currently being prepared on the orders of the federal government.

GDP: first quarter of 1993 forecast at 82-84 percent of the first quarter of 1992.

Produced national income: first quarter of 1993 forecast at 79 percent of the first quarter of 1992.

Total industrial output: first quarter forecast at 80 percent. (Total industrial production for January-February 1993 as a percentage of January-February 1992: outturn [otchet] 79.6 percent).

Production of the most important types of output: first quarter of 1993 forecast at 87 percent of the first quarter of 1992, of which the forecast for the production of foodstuffs is 93 percent and for nonfood goods is 83 percent.

Per capita money income: first quarter of 1993 forecast at 840 percent of the first quarter of 1992. Growth in savings in the form of deposits and securities forecast at 780 percent. Emission of money [nalichno-denezhnaya emissiya] forecast at 1,100 percent. (In February this year emission of money was 60 percent higher than in January at around 350 billion rubles. Thus, more rubles were put into circulation in February of 1993 alone than in the previous 30 years, since the monetary reform of 1961).

Exports: first quarter of 1993 forecast at 81 percent of the first quarter of 1992. Imports: forecast at 42 percent.

Judging by these preliminary figures, the fall in production in the first quarter of 1993 was substantially greater than in the first quarter of last year (13 percent). I recall that at the start of this year the Ministry of the Economy had forecast that the fall in production this year would be considerably less than last year—"at the 8-10 percent level." It is particularly bad that this trend of a high rate of decline should be manifest in the first few months of the year, when industry traditionally works better than in spring and summer.

At the same time, the rates of decline experienced by production in Poland, Bulgaria, and particularly East Germany in their crisis years were considerably higher—40-50 percent—which did not hinder the subsequent revival of their economic complexes. Admittedly, this took a great deal of investment.

Specialists note that, when it comes to reviving the economy, the rate of production decline is of far less importance than the causes bringing it about. If there is also a restructuring of the economy and a reorientation of it to the consumer market, then the decline will at least not be senseless.

In our case it is very important that production is falling not only in metallurgy, machine building, and the extracting sectors, but also in sectors which work for the end consumer. Moreover, there has been a continuing decline in imports of items on which many industrial sectors working directly for the consumer market are dependent.

Military Issues

Army Said Split Over Support for Yeltsin

PM0103084793 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 1

[Igor Chernyak article: "Whom Will the Men With the Guns Back?"]

[Text] The newspapers have been fighting their own war. Some suddenly reported that a number of troop units and fleets had been placed in a state of heightened combat readiness, and others immediately denied it: Ordinary scheduled training is in progress. By way of proof, a photograph was even produced showing one soldier playing an accordion and another playing a guitar. But everybody believed—a new "bombshell" by the opposition—that, preparing to introduce a state of emergency, Yeltsin had hastily taken command of the 5,000-strong Kremlin regiment. Once again the president's supporters were quick to explain: It was pure coincidence that the change of command of the regiment by Boris Nikolayevich coincided with the day of his television address to the people, and the regiment does not even contain 1,500 soldiers, they are uncommonly harmless and fit for nothing but standing in honor guards.

Such close attention to the men with the guns is quite justifiable today. After all, according to a number of experts, the position occupied by the power [silovyye] structures is crucial in the conflict between the president and parliament. As for the departments of Barannikov and Yerin, they have chosen wait-and-see tactics. Despite the fact that there is great discontent with the current authorities in both the Ministry of Security and the Ministry of Internal Affairs, which is attributable to a number of reasons—from the authorities' inability to defend the staffers of law-enforcement organs and their families in interethnic conflict zones and the surrender of the agent network in the Baltic countries, to the reduction in the level of counterintelligence work—fighters on the invisible front, remembering August 1991, are trying to stay out of the limelight. Judging from information percolating from inside the Ministry of Security, the secret services are gathering compromising material both about Yeltsin's entourage and about the opposition leaders just in case, so as to remain afloat in the event of victory by either side. But in the opinion of observers, it is the conduct of the Army which will determine the position of both the Ministry of Security and the Ministry of Internal Affairs at the decisive moment.

As is well known, Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev decided his position on what is happening back in December 1992, when he declared his unconditional support for the president. The Defense Ministry Collegium essentially supported its minister at that time. This seems natural given that many top people in the Russian military leadership are linked with Grachev by friendly ties dating back to the Afghan war, while others, so the leaders of the "Reform in the Army" deputies' group assert, owe their ascent to personal loyalty. The minister also initialed the edict on special rule.

Nevertheless, understanding the full importance of the Army in the current situation and fearing even the smallest surprise, the president has tried to secure even more reliable support among the generals recently. With Yeltsin's knowledge, the Army elite realized a long-standing dream—for next to nothing it acquired dozens of state dachas in the most prestigious areas of the Moscow region for personal use. Shortly after this, the president chose to turn a blind eye to numerous instances of corruption within the Armed Forces which had emerged: He refrained from acting on a memorandum from Yuriy Boldyrev, chief state inspector of the Russian Federation, regarding hard currency transfers to foreign banks by generals and the loss of 100 million German marks inflicted on Russia by the upper echelons of the Western Group of Forces and functionaries of the Ministry of Defense central apparat , and Boldyrev himself was removed from office. Now every effort is being made to suppress similar scandals in the Northwest Group of Forces, the Baltic and Northern Fleets, and the Far East Military District.

Having invited the leading personnel of the Defense Ministry and the General Staff, as well as commanders of combat arms, fleets, and military districts to a Security Council session 3 March on the pretext of elaborating the military doctrine, Yeltsin, according to one of those who attended, promised to satisfy all their requests. In return he demanded just one thing—support for the reforms. Today the generals, in my view fairly, are accusing pro-Communist agitators who are seeking to incite the troops of inflaming passions. But there is another side. According to information from competent sources, after the Security Council session the Defense Ministry leadership presented the president with a secret plan of action by units of Moscow Garrison, the 2d Motorized Infantry and 4th Tank Divisions, and the 27th Separate Motorized Infantry Brigade in the event of an escalation of the crisis. However, for the moment the covers remain on the weapons and military hardware and the Army leadership has been forced to declare neutrality.

The situation is further complicated by the fact that, according to information from various secret polls, a considerable proportion of Army and Navy officers do not share the defense minister's view. Informed sources claim that neither Yeltsin nor Grachev enjoys unconditional support even in the General Staff, a number of the minister's utterances prompt ridicule, and the remark "I am astounded by your question" which he made to Khasbulatov has already become a catchphrase in troop units. At the same time the balanced and cautious position of Chief of General Staff Mikhail Kolesnikov is being noted.

According to information from sources in the Russian Federation Ministry of Security who have Army connections in the line of duty, antipresidential feeling is also quite strong among officers at the company, battalion, and regiment level of troop units in Moscow Military District and the Moscow Air Defense District—the most politicized units, on the defense minister's own admission. The situation is much the same in the command structures of the main staffs of the armed services and in the Defense Ministry main and central directorates. Students at a number of military academies in Moscow are also "unreliable." The situation is even more serious in the Baltic region, where most officers believe that Yeltsin and Grachev have betrayed them. In units stationed in Lithuania, for instance, the popularity of Colonel General Vladislav Achalov, member of the National Salvation Front who once served as division commander in Kaunas, has risen sharply. According to observers, it would be tantamount to suicide to order the troops to take sides in this situation.

Army Recruitment Problems Viewed

PM3103171993 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 7

[Article by Mikhail Semenov: "Unanswered Call"]

[Text] The army and navy's staffing level for soldiers and sergeants is just 55 percent. In the opinion of Lieutenant General Gennadiy Bochayev, deputy chief of the General Staff Main Directorate, the reason for this situation lies primarily in the fact that to this day there is no provision on the procedure for military service. The mechanism for the law enforcement system for fulfilling the draft has not been worked out, that is it is a case of taking proceedings against those who dodge the draft. The law has placed responsibility for this work on the law enforcement organs, but they are reluctant to do it, giving as their reason that a draft dodger should be given alternative service. But the legislators, having provided for alternative service, have failed to do the most important thing—they have not adopted a law on it.

The Supreme Soviet has adopted the law "on military service obligation and military service." However strange it may seem, when they discussed it the legislators did not in all respects heed the convincing arguments of Defense Ministry specialists, in particular an expert on the problem like Gennadiy Bochayev. And a number of the military's fundamental proposals were ignored.

It is well known that the armed forces need specialists in many professions. Questions of their training were to a certain extent resolved by the Voluntary Society for the Promotion of the Army, Aviation, and Navy defense society, now it is the Russian Sports and Technical Organization, and also by a special elementary military training course in secondary educational establishments. The obligation of elementary military training has now been abolished and students visit these classes on a voluntary basis. Hence the students' well-known attitude toward them.

We must have a mobile army which is small in terms of numerical strength (numerical strength is determined by the law "on defense") but calculated in such a way that if a serious external threat emerges it can be deployed rapidly. For instance, for the war with Husayn the Americans mobilized about 200,000 reservists. Here article 21 of the law on military service plays an adverse role. It has considerably expanded the range of people who enjoy draft deferment. In 1992 of 100 young men liable to the draft 29 would be sent to military service. Incidentally, in the FRG the figure is 50, in Spain 75, and in Italy 85 percent. This year this percentage will drop to 16.5 percent. And if the law on alternative service comes into operation (in the draft version at present under discussion, which provides for many deferments) then there will be no draftees at all for the armed forces and Ministry of Internal Affairs. This fall two drafts are being released into the reserve (because of the transfer to service of 18 months). As a result the paramilitary formations of all ministries and departments, including the internal and border troops, will be left with virtually no personnel. In the light of this you cannot help asking: Why did the deputies make no response at all to the situation which has taken shape in the army and why did they expand article 21 of the law in this way? Perhaps the majority have not undergone military service and know of the army only from parades? For us, who have given many decades to the army, it is hard to understand the deputies' actions...

There are many difficulties with recruitment by contract. The main reason is as before: lack of money. A serviceman joining under contract will receive 5,000-12,000 rubles, free food and uniform. Alas, these terms are no longer attractive. Especially as the army is experiencing a very acute shortage of housing, preschool institutions, and schools. Nonetheless the task has been set of achieving a situation whereby in 2000 at least 50 percent of the personnel are under contract. To fulfill it the General Staff has created contract service organs and training aids and is studying the experience of Western armies.

The law has placed responsibility for the draft on the administration heads. Unfortunately, to this day in a number of regions the draft has remained a matter solely for the military commissariats.

Considering all these factors, the Defense Ministry leadership has made a number of proposals to the legislators. In particular it is suggested that the operation of article 21 be suspended for two to three years, extending it only to students, that the formation of military units in ministries and departments be ended, and that the publication of provisions on military registration and the medical fitness examination be accelerated. It is also proposed to to recruit to the internal and railroad troops only under contract.

...World experience shows that the army must have a servicemen staffing level of 75 percent. Then it can be called an army.

Supreme Soviet

31 Mar Session Adopts Inquiry Committee Bill

LD3103141893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1251 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Lyudmila Yermakova]

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—There should be a single independent inquiry committee of Russia, instead of three such panels—in the procurator's office, the Interior and Security Ministries of Russia, as now is the case. Such is the main provision of a Russian inquiry committee bill, the first reading of which was adopted in the parliament's Council of the Republic on Wednesday [31 March].

The need to take a decision on the formation of an inquiry committee "has been prompted by the fact that departmental subordination and disunity of the investigation personnel have become a serious obstacle to improvements in their activities," Boris Kondrashov, deputy chairman of the parliamentary committee on legality, law and order and action to combat crime, emphasised when presenting the bill at the council's session.

Meanwhile, it is well known that rising crime constantly adds to the amount of investigation work and renders this work increasently complex.

However, an Interior Ministry representative, who took part in the discussion, while having no objections to the independence of investigators, pointed out that under present conditions investigators would not cope with the entire amount of work without militia assistance.

A Security Ministry representative drew attention to the specificity of the work of this service which, in particular, investigates cases concerning espionage, terrorism and corruption. He voiced apprehension that the reform may damage the system of handling crimes that pose danger to the state.

The deputies agreed with the viewpoint of Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the parliamentary Committee on Legislation, about the need "to ensure a smooth transition to a new system so as not to disrupt the investigation process".

They suggested that the parliamentary committees which work on the bill take into account lawyers' rational remarks and opinions expressed during the preparation of the bill for the second reading.

Upholds Appeals on Legitimacy of Decrees

OW0104111093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1048 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Russia's Parliament on Wednesday [31 March] upheld appeals to the Constitutional Court to check the legitimacy of President Yeltsin's three decrees: "On the Activity of the Executive Bodies Until the Crisis of Power Is Overcome" from 20 March, "On Presidential Representatives in RF [Russian Federation] Territorial Entities and in Moscow and St. Petersburg" of 5 February, and "On Reforming the Military Structures of Border and Internal Troops in North Caucasus and on State Support for the Cossacks" of 15 March.

Soviet of Nationalities Adopts Draft Law on Russian Koreans

LD3103100993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0903 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar—This morning, the Soviet of Nationalities of the Russian Supreme Soviet adopted in principle the draft resolution of the Supreme Soviet of the Russian Federation, "On Rehabilitation of Russian Koreans". The resolution stipulates a number of economic and social measures aimed at improving the living conditions of citizens of Korean origin and members of their families who suffered during the Stalinist repressions.

Withdraws Resolution on Abkhazia

OW3103144093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1257 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] At its morning session the Council of Nationalities of Russia's parliament removed from its agenda the issue of compliance with the parliament's resolution on the situation in the North Caucasus in connection with developments in Abkhazia. It did so at the suggestion of the author of the resolution, Umar Temirov, who explained that to discuss this issue is premature.

Earlier, Temirov stated that there were no reasons for postponing the discussion of the draft resolution, that in fact, the Russian parliament's Committee for International Affairs had isolated itself from the discussion of this issue, and that Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze had "rewarded a group of representatives of the Russian armed forces for passing armaments over to Georgia" despite the fact that last autumn the Russian parliament ruled to terminate this practice.

Temirov said that the Russian government's disregard for the parliament's previous resolution on the situation

in the North Caucasus in connection with the events in Abkhazia, was "outrageous".

The resolution, drafted by Temirov, urged the president and government to begin talks with Georgia on the Abkhazian leaders' appeal to Moscow for putting Abkhazia, currently one of Georgia's autonomous entities, under Russia's protection.

The Abkhazian parliament's corresponding request was sent to the Russian parliament on March 23.

This document says that the Georgian leaders' "destructive position" on the settlement of the conflict in Abkhazia is largely due to financial aid extended to Georgia by some of the Russian ministries, and to "the supplies, under the cover of 'direct contacts' of components and technical and raw materials to the enterprises producing armaments and military equipment". "Despite the ban on the conclusion of an economic agreement, the delegation of the Russian Foreign Ministry, under the guise of separate agreements, has coordinated a package of agreements on economic issues with Georgia," says the appeal.

The parliament's draft resolution urges the chairman of the Council of Nationalities and the chairman of the Council of the Republic to ensure the permanent parliamentary commission's work to study the situation in the zone of the Abkhazian-Georgian conflict, to perform mediatory functions and to set up an international commission for investigating violations of human rights in Abkhazia.

Chairman of the Russian parliament's Committee for Economic Reform and Property, Sergey Krasavchenko, expressed doubts about the legitimacy of the discussion of the problem connected with the events in Abkhazia, which had been included on the agenda. He explained that the draft resolution on the problem had an unclear authorship because neither the Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations, nor the Committee for Inter- Republican Relations, Regional Policies and Cooperation took part in drafting it.

Chairman of the Russian parliament's Committee for International Affairs and Foreign Economic Relations Yevgeniy Ambartsumov expressed regret about the fact that on Wednesday [31 March] the Council of Nationalities decided to consider the implementation of the Russian parliament's resolution on the situation in the North Caucasus in connection with the events in Abkhazia, adopted in 1992. In an interview with INTERFAX, he expressed concern about the fact that this question had not been preliminarily discussed in his committee.

Ambartsumov is also worried that "the practice of taking decisions bypassing specialized committees is becoming increasingly typical of the parliament's activity". He also said that the decision of Georgia's previous leadership and, no less, current leadership to suppress the national autonomous entities was inadmissible.

Ambartsumov fully backed the Russian parliament's last year's resolution on the situation in the North Caucasus in connection with the events in Abkhazia which was drafted with his participation. He noted, however, that Russia had assumed international commitments to respect the sovereignty and territorial integrity, and not to interfere in the internal affairs of other states.

In view of this, the resolution on Abkhazia, drafted by a commission of the Council of Nationalities is at least "incautious", he said. This document may be interpreted as "an intention to join part of another state to Russia", he added. In his opinion, "in the current setting it would be reasonable to look for ways of settling this delicate issue on the basis of Georgia's federalization and the provision of guarantees of the rights of its autonomous entities".

He said that whereas Abkhazian representatives were invited to the meeting of the Council of Nationalities, Georgian representatives were not even informed of this issue. Such a conduct is inadmissible, he added.

According to INTERFAX sources, during a closed session on Tuesday the Russian parliament's Presidium did not approve its draft resolution on the results of the trip to Adzharia of three members of the Presidium (Adzharia is Georgia's autonomous republic). A participant in the session told INTERFAX that if that document had been approved there would have been an international scandal.

More on Soviet of Nationalities Sitting

PM0104135593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Apr 93 Single Edition p 1

[Report by observer Aleksandr Linkov: "Soviet of Nationalities: Restoring Justice"]

[Text] Members of the Soviet of Nationalities devoted a considerable amount of time at yesterday's session to matters directly linked with nationalities problems. Opening the session, Chamber Chairman R. Abdulatipov congratulated deputies on the anniversary of the adoption of the Federation Treaty. A year ago, R. Abdulatipov pointed out, this document managed to resolve a number of problems and to stabilize vertical state authority. The subjects of the Federation began to play an active role, which has clearly manifested itself at the latest congresses of people's deputies. But the main concern now is to adopt a package of draft laws designed to start up the mechanism to implement the treaty. All attempts to enlist the federal government in this have, regrettably, not borne fruit. Parliament is therefore shouldering this burden itself.

A. Anikiyev, the chamber's deputy chairman, briefed deputies on the course of the Ossetian-Ingush talks. In his opinion, it has proved possible to secure an as yet fragile normalization of relations in this region as a result of the regular talks that have begun in Kislovodsk. There

is however still a long way to go until total peace is reached here. The talks will be continuing.

Taking cognizance of the report, the parliamentarians discussed the draft Supreme Soviet decree on the rehabilitation of Russia's Koreans. The crux of the matter is that Koreans, who have lived mainly in what is now Maritime Kray since the middle of the last century. were deported to uninhabitable regions of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in 1937. On a single pretext—"to stop the penetration of Japanese espionage." During this action all Korean educational establishments, publishing houses, and journals were also closed down. It is now time to restore justice and take steps to rehabilitate Russia's Koreans and create conditions for their spiritual revival. That is the aim of the draft decree that has been prepared.

But will this not serve now to create a seat of tension in the Far East? It is quite possible that a considerable number of Koreans will want to return to their native areas. Parliamentarians received the following reassuring answers to these questions: Most Koreans would like to remain in the areas they currently inhabit. This was confirmed at a recent conference of representatives of the Korean people. There will be no mass migration.

The draft decree envisages that the acts adopted since 1937 against Russia's Koreans be deemed illegal.

The draft laws "On Internal Sea Waters, Territorial Waters (Territorial Sea), and the Adjacent Zone of the Russian Federation" and "On Combating Corruption" were given their first reading by the Soviet of Nationalities. The latter gave rise to a particularly lively debate. Can a single law eliminate the terrible evil of corruption?

In the opinion of scientists and theoreticians, I. Golperin in particular, this cannot be achieved by a single law; many other factors, economic factors included, have to be taken into consideration. This draft must therefore be subjected to considerable additional work and its contradictions with current legislation removed. Representatives of the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD] pressed for something else—the most speedy adoption of the draft law—since there can be no further procrastination; our society has been afflicted by too serious an ailment. But, M. Mityukov, chairman of the parliamentary Committee for Legislation, thought that it is not a matter of the law. MVD officials are hiding their inactivity behind the lack of a law. And the draft submitted for examination should not be given a first reading. The initial discussion showed that the fate of this draft cannot be predicted.

Report on Supreme Soviet Session 31 Mar

LD3103231893

[Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1940 GMT on 31 March carries the "From the Russian Supreme Soviet" program.

There were seven questions on the agenda of the Soviet of Nationalities, the last question—on the implementation of the resolution on the situation in the North Caucasus in connection with events in Abkhazia—was dropped at the request of the chairman of the subcommission of the commission on national and state structure and inter-ethnic relations. Anatoliy Anikeyev, deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, made a report on progress in the Ossetian-Ingush talks. A draft resolution on the rehabilitation of ethnic Koreans in Russia was discussed. In spite of objections, the draft resolution was adopted in the first reading. Deputy Rogacheva presented the draft law on Russian internal sea waters and territorial waters. The draft law was adopted in the first reading.

The law on combating corruption gave rise to a heated debate. Aslanbek Aslakhanov, chairman of the committee for legality, public order, and struggle against crime, presented the law to the deputies. First Deputy Interior Minister Yegorov took part in the debate. Mikhail Mityukov, chairman of the commission for legislation, presented the law on amendments to the criminal code on the procedure of cases involving state secrets. Boris Kondrashov, deputy chairman of the committee for legality, public order, and struggle against crime, made a report on the investigation committee. The Soviet of Nationalities then adjourned.

Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, was interviewed on the importance of the Federal Treaty, which was signed a year ago.

The Soviet of the Republic discussed the law on the investigation committee. Boris Kondrashov made a report. The draft law was passed. Also discussed were the socio-political "Revival," ("Vozrozhdeniye") magazine, amendments to the criminal and civil codes on the procedure of dealing with cases involving state secrets, and the state youth policy. The law on corruption was discussed in detail. The law was presented by Aslakhanov. Bezrukov of the legislation committee explained why his committee was against adopting this law in its present form. Deputy Zhigulin, Chukotka autonomous okrug, spoke on cases of corruption in his okrug. Deputy Golushko continued the debate on the corruption law. He said a federal body for investigating cases of corruption should be set up under the Supreme Soviet. In particular, he mentioned an article in a German magazine entitled: The Kremlin is getting out of control—Yeltsin's alcoholism problem becomes a heavy burden for Russia. In particular, he made the following remark: "Well, I am not interested in this problem. I think it is already clear to everyone." The law was adopted in the first reading.

Supreme Soviet Continues Meeting 1 Apr

Debates Amendments to Referendum Law

LD0104105493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0841 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Yuriy Filippov]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Apr—This morning members of the Supreme Soviet were debating changes and amendments to the Russian Law "On the Referendum in the Russian Federation." Nikolay Ryabov, deputy chairman of the Russian Supreme Soviet, who spoke at the meeting, underlined that changes in the law were determined by the need to improve the legislature as well as by the necessity to bring it in line with decisions adopted at the Ninth Congress of People's Deputies.

However, not all deputies agreed with this assessment of the debated law draft having seen in it a desire to hold the referendum of 25 April in conditions which would predetermine a negative outcome for the Russian president. Sergey Kovalev, who summed up the conclusion arrived at by this group of deputies, said that "the only aim of the proposed amendments is to render nil the referendum of 25 April," but through legislative casuistry, through "technicalities," rather than directly.

Vasiliy Kazakov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, tried to mediate between the two sides, saying that in his opinion "the present debate has no legal significance," because all the conditions for holding the referendum on 25 April have been stipulated in decisions adopted by the Ninth Congress. He proposed to remove the matter under debate from the agenda but his proposal was ignored.

Having stopped the debate, the Supreme Soviet did not adopt the Russian law "On making changes and amendments in the Russian Law 'On the referendum in the Russian Federation'" in the first reading, as Ryabov had proposed.

Urges Court To Examine Presidential Decrees

LD0103100693 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0829 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS parliamentary correspondent Ivan Novikov]

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—The Russian Parliament urged the Russian Constitutional Court on Thursday to check the constitutionality of three presidential decrees.

These are "on the activity of executive bodies to overcome the crisis of power," "on representatives of the Russian president in regions, autonomous regions, autonomous territories and the cities of Moscow and St. Petersburg" and "on reorganisation of military structures, border troops and Interior Ministry forces in North Caucasian regions of Russia and on state support for Cossacks."

Denounces Crimea Congress

LD0104112793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1105 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunaiskiy]

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—368 Russian legislators denounced the upcoming Congress of Ukrainian residents of Sevastopol in the Crimea and called it a "political provocation".

The congress may trigger unpredictable consequences in the city, they said in an address to lawmakers of Ukraine, the Crimea and Sevastopol on Thursday [1 April].

The Crimea became an apple of discord between Russia and Ukraine after the collapse of the Soviet. In 1954 former communist leader Nikita Khruschev transferred the peninsula from Russia to Ukraine. Now that Ukraine is an independent state it qualifies any Russian statements on the Crimean problem as an interference in its internal affairs.

The congress is organised by four small Ukrainian public organisations which have no influence on the population of Sevastopol, Russian lawmakers said, adding that the congress is convened in order to "demonstrate the presence of a mass movement of Ukrainian residents of Sevastopol to strengthen its Ukrainian status".

The congress was initially scheduled for March 28, but was later postponed as the city authorities introduced a three-month moratorium on rallies and political assemblies.

Biographies of New Parliament Deputy Speakers

LD3103191993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1728 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—Ruslan Khasbulatov, Russian Parliament speaker, has now three new deputies - Yuriy Voronin, Valentin Agafonov and Vladimir Ispravnikov - who have filled in the vacancies during the extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies, which ended here on Monday [29 March].

Voronin, 55, became Ruslan Khasbulatov's first deputy. He is a member of the "Communists of Russia" parliamentary faction. He is Russian, was born in Kazan, graduated from the Kazan Aircraft Institute, radio engineer by trade. Acting member of the Russian Academy of Technological Sciences, doctor of sciences (economics).

For six years he had been working at the local defence industry enterprises in Kazan. Since 1968 he works within the Communist Party framework: first as a deputy department chief at a district party committee of Kazan, then as instructor at the Defence Industry Department. In 1972-1975 he had been studying at the post-graduatory school of the Academy of Social Sciences at the CPSU Central Committee. Then he worked as secretary of the party committee of the "Radioprom" industrial association; then - as department chief at the party regional committee in Tatarsk.

In 1988-1990: deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Planning Committee of the Tatar Autonomous Republic. In 1990 he was elected

people's deputy of Russia. At the first parliamentary session he was appointed as a chairman of the Committee on Budget, Planning, Taxes and Prices of the Chamber of the Republic. Since October, 1991 - deputy parliamentary speaker.

XXX

Valentin Agafonov, 58, deputy parliamentary speaker, represents the "Agrarian Union" faction. Native Russian, he was born in Chuvash Autonomous Republic. Graduated from the local agricultural institute and the Academy of Social Sciences under the CPSU Central Committee. Agronomist by trade, he worked at the Chuvash state agricultural experimental farm. In 1962-1964 he worked within the Communist Party framework in the Vurnary district of the republic. In 1965-1971 he had been at the head of the district's agricultural production board; then he became concomitantly deputy chairman of a district soviet of people's deputies' executive board. In 1971 - director of the Chuvash Meat-Processing Trust. In 1972-1979 - first deputy, then minister for agriculture of the Chuvash Autonomous Republic. In 1979-1990 - deputy, then first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the republic and at the same time - chairman of the Agricultural Committee.

He was elected people's deputy of Russia in 1990. The first parliamentary session approved his appointment as chairman of the Committee on Social Development of the Rural regions, Agriculture and Foodstuffs.

XXX

Another deputy parliament speaker, Vladimir Ispravnikov, is more than 10 years younger than his counterparts. He represents the "Workers' Union: Reforms Without a Shock" parliamentary faction.

Russian by nationality, he graduated from the Omsk Polytechnical Institute, the post-graduate school of the Moscow State University and became candidate of sciences (economics). In 1971 he started his career as a technician at the Omsk aircraft plant, then worked as an engineer at the chair of economics and production management of the Omsk Polytechnical Institute; teacher at the chair of the CPSU history and political economy at the Omsk Institute of Physical Culture; held a chair at the Siberian Automobile Institute.

In 1990-1991 - deputy chairman of the Supreme Economic Council under the Presidium of the Russian Supreme Soviet. In 1991 - member of the Russian Parliamentary Committee on Economic Reforms and Property; member of the Supreme Economic Council; later, he was approved as chairman of the Supreme Economic Council.

Further on Deputies

MK0104073093 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 9

[Valeriy Pogorelyy, Dmitriy Vokhrintsev report: "Speaker's Deputies Appointed. Supreme Soviet To Take Up Economy]

[Text] Vacancies in the Supreme Soviet Presidium have been filled by the decision of the Ninth (Extraordinary) Congress of People's Deputies—two deputies and the first deputy of the Supreme Soviet chairman have been confirmed. Thus parliament's leading body has now been brought up to full strength, and is apparently prepared for energetic and effective work. Yesterday, Yuriy Voronin presided over his first Supreme Soviet session in his new capacity. Taking their seats next to him were Valentin Agafonov and Vladimir Ispravnikov.

Yuriy Voronin is 52. He is a full member of the Russian Academy of Technological Sciences and a doctor of economic sciences. He worked at enterprises of the military-industrial complex. After his postgraduate course at the Academy of Social Sciences, he was in charge of a department at the Tartar Oblast CPSU Committee; later he was deputy chairman of the Tataria Council of Ministers and chairman of the [Tatar] Gosplan. At the first Supreme Soviet session he was confirmed as chairman of the Commission for Budget, Plans, Taxes, and Prices. In October 1991 he became deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet. He is a member of the Communists of Russia faction.

Valentin Agafonov is 58. In 1962, he graduated from the Chuvash Agricultural Institute. In 1982 he graduated from the Academy of Social Sciences of the CPSU Central Committee. He is an agronomist. From 1972, he held several executive positions in the bodies of state administration of the Chuvash ASSR. In 1985 to 1990, he worked as first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the Chuvash ASSR Agro-Industrial Committee. He is a member of the Agrarian Union faction.

Vladimir Ispravnikov is 44. He is a candidate of economic sciences. From November 1991 he was a member of the Supreme Soviet, chairman of the Supreme Economic Council of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. He is a member of the Workers Union-Reform Without Shock faction.

The selection of new deputies is indicative of the basic trend in parliamentary activities. The Supreme Soviet will apparently soon start to chart a course toward adjusting the economic reforms, and will veer away from Gaydar's shock therapy. Valentin Agafonov, described as a person who keeps away from political intrigues, is nevertheless known as an opponent of buying and selling land. Apparently, Agafonov, as former head of the Supreme Soviet Agrarian Committee, will be entrusted with taking charge of agricultural questions instead of Yuriy Voronin. Vladimir Ispravnikov hews to moderate

positions: between the "emission" policy of Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko, and the demands for rigid credit and finance restrictions of First Vice Premier Boris Fedorov.

KOMMERSANT-DAILY experts regard these appointments as Ruslan Khasbulatov's attempt to stabilize his position in the top echelons of parliamentary power, which also explains Yuriy Voronin's acquired status of first deputy. Part of Voronin's former functions, in particular overseeing the Central Bank and the making of economic laws, will probably go to Ispravnikov. In Khasbulatov's absence, Yuriy Voronin will pursue a new line quite rigidly—he has already proven his talent of presiding over Supreme Soviet and Congress sessions. The Supreme Soviet now seems to be going to intervene increasingly in the activities of the executive; this will further heighten confrontation and interfere with the normal work of the Council of Ministers.

Abdulatipov Interview on Federation Treaty

LD3103210093 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1520 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Interview with Ramazan Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities, by journalist Irina Davydova; from the "Freedom at Vasilyevskaya, 13" program—live or recorded]

[Text] [Davydova] Here in the studio is Ramazan Gadzhimuradovich Abdulatipov, chairman of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet Council of Nationalities. Exactly a year ago the Federation Treaty was signed. Many analysts at the time considered that it prevented the collapse of russia, but this treaty did not just have ideological aims. What is your view on this?

[Abdulatipov] First of all, I want to use this opportunity to congratulate all Russians and all the people who really worked and actively helped the development and signing of the Federation Treaty on the first anniversary of the Federation Treaty.

We really were far away from any ideological tasks when we were preparing the Federation Treaty. To a greater degree it was a matter of preserving the integrity of the Russian Federation, and of Russia really becoming a federal state, not only in form, but in substance as well. Because when we came to the Russian parliament, in fact it was impossible to find the Russian Federation in any reference book listing federal states. But today it is recognized not only by our fellow countrymen, it is already recognized as being a federation by all the world powers. And now the Russian Federation is in these reference books as a federal entity enjoying full rights.

I consider that this is very important and the most important thing, the fact that we have managed to sign the Federation Treaty, as distinct from the Union Treaty, without destroying the existing state but moving toward the strengthening of this state. In contrast to the theory behind the signing of the Union Treaty, we believed that it was of fundamental importance not to occupy ourselves with the formation of a Russian state because the Russian state was formed long ago, historically, therefore, we believed that our task was the demarcation of powers and the signing of the federation treaty in accordance with this demarcation of powers.

In this way, I would stress once more, we wanted to strengthen Russian statehood and the integrity of the existing state as well as giving the maximum possible independence to the republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities in the Russian Federation.

[Davydova] you are probably aware that Russian TV has been broadcasting a programme entitled "Large Circle - Conversation in the Metropolis" for almost a year now. We acquaint our television viewers with the heads of republics in the Russian Federation and they all consider that this treaty is being implemented everywhere, perhaps not with the same energy nor so well everywhere, but it is being implemented and they all believe that it was most essential. Some believe that Bashkortostan, Tatarstan, and Chechnya should be excluded, But there are no other different readings of this. would you agree with this?

[Abdulatipov] Well, first of all I would not exclude Bashkortostan, of all places. Bashkortostan has signed the Federal Treaty. I would also not like to exclude Tatarstan and Chechnya because the actual negotiation process is under way at the moment. I think that this process would have been completed a long time ago in relation to these republics were it not for those political processes which the federation's administration was contaminated with lately.

The main thing is that with signing of the Federation Treaty all the republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities of the Russian Federation have started to be treated with respect. For example, when a new draft law is being discussed in the parliament we always ask whether the subjects of the Russian Federation were consulted on this and how it is being received at the local level and so on.

In other words, with the adoption and signing of the Federation Treaty our legislators began to adapt to the local conditions. There are very complicated structures in our Russian Federation. Yakutia has totally different conditions to Tatarstan, and my native Dagestan is something completely different again. Therefore, it is impossible to manage all this diversity from Moscow. It is very difficult to do so from Moscow. And I believe it will be absolutely natural to reassign powers from the center to the regions and republics of the Russian Federation.

But I should stress here that this reassigning of powers should be carried out in such an evolutionary way as not to destroy the integrity of the Russian Federation itself. We have this task and I think that the role of the leaders of the republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities

of the Russian Federation has today increased and this includes preservation of the integrity of the state.

If you were following the work of the Seventh, Eighth, and Ninth Congresses of People's Deputies with attention - and I have no doubt that you did - you would remember that it was the republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities of the Russian Federation who were first to defend the integrity of the Russian state. And, incidentally, the speech made by Sabirov, chairman of the Tatarstan Council of Ministers, at the Eighth Congress points to the fact that these people are genuinely worried about the absence of such a necessary accord within the federal bodies of power and have actually come to the defense of the integrity of the Russian state.

[Davydova] Why, for example, at the Ninth Congress were the People's Deputies so wary about setting up a Federation Council?

[Abdulatipov] I should tell you that a Federation Council did operate under Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin and the Supreme Soviet. And working groups of the Federation Council were set up to draft the Federation Treaty. Moreover, on the instructions of the Third Congress of People's Deputies of the Russian Federation we prepared a draft law on the Federation Council. But then revolutionary- minded deputies pulled apart all this and destroyed it.

Now that the Federation Council is being created many people think that another body will be created which will replace the President and the Supreme Soviet. Nothing of the sort. What is being set up is a consultative body, a body with which various questions of federation-wide importance can be coordinated. Such a body already exists; it is already up and running. I am referring to the regular conferences of leaders of republics, krays, oblasts, and autonomous entities which we have convened in Cheboksary, Novosibirsk, and Moscow. So you see, this body already exists and it simply needs to be given proper form.

And, particularly at the present stage, I have come to the conclusion that no one is actually doing anything about this although both the president of the Russian federation and the chairman of the Supreme Soviet constantly stress the importance of the Federation Treaty. But hardly anyone is doing anything about implementing it.

Indeed, now that Yuriy Fedorovich Yarov has joined the government, a special working group has been set up subordinate to the government, and people from the Supreme Soviet are also in it and some work is being done. But I consider that the main work should be done by the working bodies of the Federation Council. And the Federation Council can also give great help in drafting bills on implementing the Federation Treaty.

We should not fear bodies with which we should consult and which can also recommend things to us and help to resolve many questions. We do not have the tradition of sharing power, as you know. Everyone is afraid that if they share power with someone then they will have less of it left. Power dissolves when confrontation increases, but if there is agreement and cooperation, state power becomes stronger and is reinforced.

[Davydova] And in your view, the subjects of the Federation—those who signed the treaty and those who did not—has their position changed in any way over this last year?

[Abdulatipov] Firstly, I must say that the majority are still not satisfied with the way that the Federation Treaty is being implemented. A special note was sent to me when the Gaydar government was still in power, saying that every ministry should conduct a demarcation of powers, but specific ministries do not want to lose their powers today and they do not want to hand over these powers to the localities. As we do not have strong state power and there is this discord at the center, we have in effect a concentration of powers which were not even delegated there in the localities.

This double-edged danger still exists. On the one hand, the republics and regions want to replace the federal authority themselves and the other side of this is when federal authority does not want to share its powers and so on. And the main thing is that both the federal bodies in Moscow and bodies of authority in the regions and republics for some reason all talk about the demarcation and delegation of powers. They all demand powers for themselves. But practically no one demands the responsibility.

If we have been moving one way or another in this direction for a year then when we start to delegate and share out responsibility, I think that there will be arguments about who bears most responsibility—these have not yet taken place. These arguments in particular arise when there is a lack of responsibility both in Moscow and in part also between Moscow and the regions too. We need to move to a system which has not only a demarcation of powers but a demarcation of responsibility to the people and for the state of affairs in society.

[Davydova] Yes indeed, that is better than when there is collective responsibility and no one is responsible for anything. We have all witnessed the battles and seen how difficult it has been since the Federation Treaty was adopted for it to become a part of the Russian Federation's constitution. There is some sort of evolution going on there. Do you believe that the Federation Treaty should become a basis for the constitution of the Russian Federation?

[Abdulatipov] You know, when people do not get to the very bottom of a problem—this often happens in parliament and at congresses—some people shouting at a microphone can ruin an issue. I think that those people who put down the Federation Treaty were very few in number as many people appreciated the importance of this document and moreover, the need to implement it now.

The second question which is sometimes posed today is whether the Federation Treaty should be a basis for the constitution. I do not agree with this because we worked toward a totally different idea and had we worked toward this idea, then we would have destroyed the Russian Federation and would have moved in the direction of a union. I believe that in this state, the Russian state, the bases have been laid down and what we need to do today is to conduct a more precise demarcation of powers.

Since in the treaty we are taking one issue from the constitution, then this treaty cannot become a basis for the constitution. It should assume its proper place and its own section in the constitution on the demarcation of powers. And of course, the treaty should find its place in the new constitution too and its contents should be reflected in their entirety in the section on the demarcation of powers.

[Davydova] Now you frequently visit different regions, autonomous oblasts, and republics. In your view, which tendencies give rise to misgivings and which, on the other hand, give cause for hope?

[Abdulatipov] The first tendency is the struggle between the branches of power, which is in effect destroying state power as such. This creates a situation where both the right and left hands start to strike at the head, where the branches of power start to destroy state power, a most dangerous development, which in effect splits the federation, allowing the most extreme forces to come to the surface.

The second danger is that, today, when power is delegated to the republics and regions of the Russian Federation, we occasionally forget to ask ... [changes thought] I mean making people below responsible for fulfilling these functions. And there is the danger that power can be lost in this respect, too, while weakening state power as such. The most important tendency that I notice today—though, on the surface, this cannot really be said—is the tendency toward unity, first and foremost around state power. And though Moscow gives very little reason for uniting around it, and in general around the federal bodies of power, the tendency toward becoming stronger and towards strengthening unity is coming from below.

I would like once again to draw your attention to the behavior of heads of republics, krays, and oblasts and autonomous regions, to their address to the Congress and the president, to the fact that these forces are coming forward today as forces that are holding Russia together, and it is important to help them, to support them. This is also our task, the task of the powers sitting in Moscow today. In the final reckoning, it must not be forgotten that we have a gigantic Russia behind us and that our strength derives from the republics, regions, and krays of the Russian Federation.

[Davydova] You know, I was recently on a business trip in Udmurtia, where it is the anniversary today of Russian President Yeltsin's signing of a decree on the specifics of carrying out conversion—they had a very strong military-industrial complex there, and although it was written in the decree that part of the money from oil sales should go on a full development program for Urdmurtia, and some of the money from the sale of arms, nothing is being done, the spoke remains in the wheel, and of course people ask why.

[Abdulatipov] This problem does exist. Moreover, we still have the old problem—such as existed when a member of the Politburo arrived in some region and signed some document bestowing various benefits. Of course, it would be best if such cases could be reduced to a minimum in the first place. And in the second place I think that all of these questions can and should be discussed with specific ministries and departments and a document should be prepared which would balance relations between federation-wide bodies of power and bodies of power in the localities.

[Davydova] What are your forecasts and what are the prospects for the development of the federation, the federation, and the Federation Treaty?

[Abdulatipov] I believe that this tendency towards increasing cohesion, the tendency to civilized relations within the federation will increase. Moreover, unlike many people in Russia, I must say that world experience proves that it is federal states which are the most viable state organizations. In this sense, the Russian Federation has very good prospects.

[Davydova] And now the last, probably the shortest question: will there be a single Russia, a strong, unified Russia?

[Abdulatipov] Undoubtedly. We shall undoubtedly have a single, strong, integral and stable state. I believe that our fatherland will be prosperous. These troubled times will pass. It is important not to destroy one's own statehood. It is important not to destroy one's own culture, not to lose the dignity of a great state. And I stress it once again: this is a reasonably optimistic and reasonably well-founded view of Russia's future.

[Davydova] And what is your wish to our Russian people?

[Abdulatipov] I want the Russian people not to be embarrassed by words like "brotherhood" and "friendship between nations." If you look in Ozhegov's dictionary, these are the words he uses as the Russian translation for "federation".

And, secondly, I want Russian television, as well as our Russian people, to remember that there are more than 165 unique indigenous peoples within the Russian Federation. This only adds to our wealth and in no way diminishes our dignity. This will not make us weaker - on

the contrary, it makes us stronger and it makes our fatherland more vigorous and more attractive to all the peoples of the world.

Regional Affairs

Grachev Continues Visit to St. Petersburg

LD3103222193 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1700 GMT 31 Mar 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] Pavel Grachev, after causing a big stir at the session of NATO defense ministers in Brussels—I have in mind his statement on suspending the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states—arrived in St. Petersburg today on an inspection visit. This year 29 units are to be withdrawn to the Leningrad Military District from the formations in the Baltic republics.

[Correspondent Vladimir Batalov] Pavel Grachev's arrival in St. Petersburg came possibly as a surprise, although possibly not a complete surprise, to the military district's command. Another surprise, however, was the sealed envelope specifying the military units that the minister and top officials from the Defense Ministry would be visiting and inspecting. The envelope was opened only just prior to the visit to various of the military district's units. This method was selected so that the soldiers should not spend time tidying up withered grass and making pathways absolutely clear. A result of these surprise inspections in Pavel Grachev's view will be a significant increase in the combat readiness of all Russia's armed forces.

The second aim concerns of course the most painful issue, which is the withdrawal of troops, the provision of facilities for troops, their social protection and the planned allocation of apartments.

Pavel Sergeyevich, in Brussels you spoke of the fact that the withdrawal of troops from the Baltic republics would be suspended. Would you tell us please whether this is true?

[Grachev] Well, my speech was distorted in this respect. The fact is that an instruction from the president suspending the withdrawal of troops has existed for a long time. It is connected with the fact that the Latvian and Estonian sides do not wish to sit down at the negotiating table and settle in a civilized way the terms for the withdrawal of the troops and for financing and assisting their resettlement. The withdrawal of troops from Lithuanian territory will be carried out, but from Latvian and Estonian territories this will be done only after the signing of the relevant treaties.

Further on Troop Withdrawal Remarks

OW3103212593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1751 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] "As long as Estonian and Latvian Defense Minsters do not sit at the negotiation table with me no questions on Russian troop withdrawal from the Baltic states will be solved," the Russian Defense Minister Pavel Grachev declared to journalists on Wednesday [31 March] in St. Petersburg.

Speaking at the meeting with the command of the Leningrad military district on Wednesday, the Minister reported that his statement on a temporary cessation of Russian forces withdrawal "is the consequence of a short-sighted policy pursued by Estonia and Latvia" regarding the withdrawal process.

The Minister underlined that Russia intends to withdraw its forces from these states in a civilized way. Until bilateral agreements are concluded and issues on the financing of troop withdrawal are solved, the withdrawal cannot be a success, Grachev emphasized.

He mentioned Lithuania as an example of the appropriate solution of this issue; according to Grachev, all issues related to withdrawal of forces and, in particular, to the privatization of servicemen's flats have successfully been solved.

The Russian Defense Minister came to St. Petersburg on Tuesday evening in order, as he said, "to analyze the process of the structural re-organization of the Leningrad military district which is becoming a district of the first strategic echelon."

Grachev intends to analyze the state of units' combat training. He also wants to draw attention of the command to the accommodation problems of the units and detachments withdrawn from the Baltic state to this military district.

29 units and formations and 350 officers will be withdrawn to the Leningrad military district in 1993. Last year 2,500 officers came to serve in the Leningrad military district.

Prime Minister Pays Visit to St. Petersburg

Yarov Explains Purpose

LD0103094593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0751 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Andrey Naryshkin]

[Text] St. Petersburg, 1 Apr—Problems of conversion, academic science, culture, and agriculture will be uppermost in the mind of the government delegation, headed by Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, which arrived

in St. Petersburg today. Russian Deputy Prime Minister Yuriy Yarov said this at Pulkovo Airport in an exclusive interview with ITAR-TASS.

"In this major Russian industrial center," he said, "we intend to investigate yet again what needs to be done now to adjust government policies and to place the emphasis on social security for the population." Asked by the ITAR-TASS correspondent whether the government leaders had come to St. Petersburg with instant remedies, Yuriy Yarov gave a negative reply. "We have certain ideas which need to be tested on the spot," he said.

Meeting With Industrialists

LD0104100493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0852 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Irina Zolotareva and Lyudmila Fomicheva]

[Text] Moscow April 1 TASS—Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin arrived in St. Petersburg on Thursday.

Chernomyrdin is accompanied by Vice-Prime Ministers Georgiy Khizha and Yuriy Yarov, Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko, Minister for Transportation Vitaliy Yefimov, Head of the Committee for the Defence Industry Viktor Glukhikh and Alvin Yeryomin, head of the parliamentary Committee for Industry and Power Engineering.

Chernomyrdin visited the joint-stock company "Pervomayskaya Zarya" to attend a meeting with city industrialists and members of the board of the Union of Associations of Industrial Enterprises, Construction, Scientific, Transportation and Communications Organisations.

Later in the day, the prime minister is expected to meet with city authorities and scientists.

Yeltsin Representative in Ingushetia Interviewed

PM3103150193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 2

[Interview with Isa Kostoyev, the president's representative in Ingushetia, by Sergey Karkhanin; place and date of interview not given: "Isa Kostoyev, Russian President's Representative in Ingushetia: We Are Doomed To Live As Neighbors"]

[Text] On 27 March Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin signed an edict under which a state of emergency was introduced on the territories of part of Prigorodnyy Rayon and the adjacent areas of North Ossetia and part of the Ingush Republic's Nazranovskiy Rayon.

This measure, a statement by the Russian Federation president's press service notes, "was caused by the continuing aggravation of the situation on part of the territories of North Ossetia and Ingushetia and by the mass riots and interethnic conflicts which have occurred, accompanied by violence with the use of weapons and combat equipment." But this edict was revoked just two days later at the initiative of the Ossetian side, in whose opinion it "violated the sovereignty of North Ossetia." The document will be signed again after the relevant amendments appear in the text.

In a talk with your ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI correspondent, Isa Kostoyev, the Russian president's representative in Ingushetia, describes the situation in the conflict zone.

[Karkhanin] The news that the recently repealed curfew in Malgobekskiy and Sunzhenskiy Rayons had been restored has met with a broad response throughout the North Caucasus and among the reasons the press cites "the intrigues of the Chechen extremists." This step will probably augment the differences between the local inhabitants and the military; was it worth taking?

[Kostoyev] No one discussed it with me as the Russian president's representative and as far as I know the situation is more or less stable in these rayons; in Chechnya too nothing out of the ordinary has happened. I cannot answer the question of why the provisional administration acted that way.

We must not forget that legislative power continues to operate in North Ossetia while in Ingushetia all organs are subordinated to the provisional administration. Incidentally, will Ruslan Aushev, elected president by all the people, be subordinated to this administration?

[Karkhanin] The problem of the curfew is important, apart from anything else, because all kinds of incidents are frequent where it is in operation...

[Kostoyev] In general the state of emergency regime in our country looks, let us say, strange. It should promote and not impede the republic's survival, but the opposite has happened—it has been cut off from the surrounding regions. Not a single Ingush can travel the highway to Vladikavkaz without a risk of being kidnaped by gunmen—what kind of order is that?

I believed and continue to believe that the conflict zone should be demarcated and put under control, which follows from the spirit of the president's edict. As of today anyone you like except the Ingush are living in Prigorodnyy Rayon. The Ossetian gunmen are killing Russian officers—dozens of such instances are known. And here is the question: What are the Russian troops doing here in Nazran, where there has been and is no fighting, and why can the peacekeeping subunits not be advanced to where they would ensure normal communications with the surrounding world for Ingushetia?

[Karkhanin] And have incidents occurred in Nazran?

[Kostoyev] Six people have died, and formally at least there have indeed been violations. A driver was asked to stop, he did not stop, so an armored personnel carrier

overtook the vehicle and shot the driver dead... But for some reason this force is not used against those who to this day are looting abandoned Ingush houses in Prigorodnyy Rayon. Even the reports do not contain such facts. On the other hand we are receiving information that in Ingushetia Russian servicemen are engaging in extortion and there are cases of drunkenness on duty. Of course, we inform the command and we are now preparing a report.

But what good does that do: A Russian major takes a vehicle from a local inhabitant! Or in North Ossetia one of our militiamen is stopped and he only succeeds in escaping by a miracle! We have the Russian procurator general's operational investigation group operating here and it would seem to have a duty to intervene.

But according to my information alongside this group prosecutors from North Ossetia are engaged in investigating the questions connected with the conflict. One asks whether there is any great hope of their objectivity if they have not investigated a single crime committed in Prigorodnyy Rayon on interethnic grounds over the past 18 months.

[Karkhanin] The people whose relatives have been killed rightly demand that the specific culprits be named. Otherwise a wave of revenge could descend on entire peoples...

[Kostoyev] I intend to tell the Russian president and procurator general that investigation work is proceeding only formally. And I am sure that we will not succeed in doing anything as long as the conflict zone where the investigation is to be carried out has been separated from North Ossetia and Ingushetia and until a Russian power appears there under which Ossetians and Ingush can live peacefully side by side.

And we must not forget that the political assessment of everything that has happened depends largely on the conclusions of the investigation. In addition 90 percent of all crimes were committed after the fighting had ended: The gunmen killed the hostages. The names of some of the killers are know to witnesses but four months have already passed and nothing serious has been done. How did Militia Colonel Barkhinkhoyev, taken out of the North Ossetian Internal Affairs Ministry building and found with his throat cut, and two other officers meet their deaths? Why did 58 infantry combat vehicles pass unimpeded across the Rokskiy pass from South Ossetia to North Ossetia? Even these questions remain unanswered as yet.

We still have women standing in the square with posters reading: "Where are our children?" And indeed, how can we speak of missing persons here? This is not a desert!

[Karkhanin] And what, in your opinion, are the prospects?

[Kostoyev] I think it is essential strictly to observe the laws adopted by the Supreme Soviet at the president's initiative whether they please the Ossetians and Ingush or not. The reluctance to execute laws on the rehabilitation of repressed peoples and on the formation of the Ingush Republic was what led to the tragedy. The talks in Kislovodsk are essentially reduced to compacts to fulfill the decisions of Russia's supreme organs of power—what an absurdity...

And once again it will be ordinary people who will suffer from political blunders. Never in the entire history of the North Caucasus has one people fought another. Now that is happening, and I fear it will last a long time. That is why it is extremely important to make the correct decision. There are documents and facts... I have many friends in North Ossetia and I worked there for 10 years. And here is what I am thinking: Does everyone understand that we are doomed to live as neighbors? Many Ingush know which vehicle was used to take away their property and who exactly killed their relations. If those now living do not manage to wreak vengeance, revenge will pass to their sons and grandsons. So that we should not rejoice in the plundered property: Those who wrought violence on defenseless people will not be forgotten and I think the culprits will not be forgiven.

[Karkhanin] It has only just become known that in Sleptsovsk a clash between local Ingush inhabitants and Russian soldiers ended in tragedy.

[Kostoyev] Yes, during a wedding, by national custom, the guests began to shoot into the air. And the soldiers decided that terrorists were attacking... Several Ingush died. Yes, the law was broken, but in each case we must display a specific approach. And that tragedy could have developed into a real battle...

I would very much like to prevent the conflict expanding. The spring is coming, the grain must be sown, and housing must be repaired. And only federal rule in Prigorodnyy Rayon can abolish the seat of the conflict and ensure safety for the refugees; otherwise, an alarming future awaits us.

Navy Commander in Chief Gromov Visits Vladivostok

OW3103143193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Admiral Feliks Gromov, Russian Navy Commander-in-Chief [CINC], arrived in Vladivostok March 31. The press office of the Pacific fleet command told INTERFAX that the CINC intends to sort out issues in the social sphere, living conditions, and social protection of the servicemen.

Gromov also intends to introduce Vice-Admiral Georgiy Gurinov as the new Pacific fleet commander. Gurinov, born in Minsk in 1939, has been Gromov's deputy.

The previous commander, Gennadiy Khvatov, was removed from office in connection with the tragic events in the fleet's training facilities on Russkiy island where four cadets died of malnutrition and hazing.

Khvatov's assistant, Commander Vladimir Denisenko, was arrested for his part in this case last week. He is charged with "negligence in the form of inaction which brought about dire consequences."

Birobidzhan Missile Troops Hold Demonstration Launching

LD0103094293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0840 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Viktor Gorelov]

[Text] Birobidzhan (Jewish autonomous region) April 1 TASS—Missilemen from the Birobidzhan military garrison broke up for the first time a long-standing tradition of complete secrecy shrouding their operations.

The command invited the heads of the Jewish autonomous region, the regional centre, members of the public and journalists for a training launching of a ground-to-ground missile.

All of them had a chance to see well-teamed actions by a unit commanded by Major Sergey Gavrilov. His missilemen fulfilled their task with flying colours. The observation point situated 500 kilometers from the launching site reported that the missile precisely hit the predetermined target.

International Affairs

Defense Ministry Considers 'Denouncing' Fleet Agreement

LD3103220793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] The Ukrainian Ministry of Defense issued a statement today, 31 March. The statement says that the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense is presently examining numerous proposals on preparing an appeal to the Ukrainian parliament on the possibility of denouncing the validity of the Yalta agreement of 3 September 1992.

This step is the result of constant violations of bilateral accords on the Black Sea Fleet by the Russian military department, which constantly distorts the interpretation of the main principles set down in the Yalta agreement and assigns the task of exchanging, removing, storing, and redeploying military hardware to the command of the Black Sea Fleet, without coordinating it with our Ministry of Defense.

The command of the Fleet pays the wages of many crews under Russian tariffs, under instructions from Moscow. This is happening under conditions in which the fleet is being financed from Ukraine's budget and under the validity of the interstate agreement on the prevention of unilateral actions.

At the same time, the Ukrainian military department considers it impermissible to inflame interethnic enmity in the Black Sea Fleet with Moscow's connivance.

Georgian-Abkhazian Conflict Cited

OW0104115593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The press service of the Ukrainian Defense Ministry reported on Thursday [1 April] that the ministry was considering asking parliament to suspend the Ukrainian-Russian agreement on the Black Sea Fleet signed in Yalta on August 3, 1992.

According to the press service's report, Russia has been constantly violating the agreement. "While it permanently insists on the necessity to keep to the terms of the agreement, the Russian Defense Ministry misinterprets its basic principles, ordering the command of the Black Sea Fleet to change the latter's organizational and personnel structure, reduce some of its units in size, and partly redeploy the fleet," the report goes.

"On orders from Moscow, ships with Ukrainian citizens on board carry out obscure tasks in the region of the Georgian-Abkhazian armed conflict," the press service says. Besides, the fleet's command, it says, pays the fleet's personnel on the basis of Russian tariffs without asking the Ukrainian Defense Ministry for consent.

The press service of the Black Sea Fleet has told INTERFAX, however, that only one ship off has been sent to the zone of the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict to evacuate Russian servicemen and refugees.

Defense, Foreign Ministry Statement on Nuclear Weapons

LD3103211193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 2043 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By UKRINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Kiev April 1 TASS—"The issues of nuclear weapons in Ukraine are currently being considered by the Ukrainian Parliament which will adopt a resolution meeting the interests of the Ukrainian people and the Ukrainian state," says a statement by the Ukrainian Defence and Foreign Ministries issued in connection with the concern about the safety of nuclear weapons stationed in Ukraine, which was expressed by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev at a meeting with his colleagues from the North Atlantic Council for Cooperation, in St. Petersburg on Wednesday.

The statement said that artificial agiotage [word as received] around Ukrainian nuclear weapons is aimed at achieving the extension of Russian jurisdiction of these weapons and depriving Ukraine of its right to compensation for components of these weapons.

Ukraine has repeatedly declared and declares again that it is prepared to discuss and resolve problems of nuclear and ecological safety of strategic nuclear forces in Ukraine at any level and is prepared to consider a possibility of inviting an authoritative international commission of experts, the statement said.

Kravchuk Comments on Russian Congress, Constitution

OW3103164893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1513 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishiin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Excerpts] It is Russia's job to evaluate the Russian Congress of People's Deputies, said President Leonid Kravchuk at a press conference Tuesday [30 March] in Kiev. The head of state acknowledged, however, that the political developments in Russia could affect the economic situation in Ukraine. [passage omitted]

He believes the "lessons" of the Russian Congress are of special importance to Ukraine's local organs of power. "One cannot say that we have no difficulties in implementing the powers of authorities on all levels, but our authorities are not in opposition," he said.

The head of state feels that Ukraine's current Constitution cannot serve as an instrument of overcoming conflicts between different branches of power. "Each can find what he needs in the Constitution," he said, stressing the discreprancies both between individual articles of the Constitution and between the Constitution and several new legislative acts. We will be able to require all branches and levels of power to absolutely fulfill the Constitution only after a new Constitution is adopted, believes the president. Claiming that "the fastest way to solve the problem" would be to have the Supreme Soviet adopt the new Constitution, Kravchuk did not rule out the possibility that the republic may have to find a different option. He believes the parliament's experience in attempting to elect the Constitutional Court showed that the Supreme Soviet "is not always capable of solving problems."

IF [INTERFAX] Note: The Ukrainian Constitutional Court has not been formed; the process was blocked by the oppositional deputy association Narodnaya Rada ("People's Council"). The opposition feels that the parliamentary majority, which consists largely of former members of the Ukrainian Communist Party, was striving to achieve one main goal in forming the Constitutional Court - the rebirth of the party, which was banned in the end of August 1991. Narodnaya Rukh [Ukraine People's Movement for Perestroyka] (People's Movement") leader Vyacheslav Chornovil feels that the episode in the formation of the Constitutional Court displayed the need for early parliamentary elections.

Ambassador to Russia on Prospects for Bilateral Relations

OW3103212793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The strengthening of positions of President Boris Yeltsin in his relations with the Parliament does not imply a more moderate attitude of Russia towards the Ukraine, declared the Ukrainian Ambassador to Moscow Volodymyr Krzhanovskiy. In a speech at the heads of diplomatic representations of Ukraine seminar in Kiev on Tuesday [30 March] he stressed the existence of several groups in the Russian leadership, influencing the development of Russo-Ukrainian relations. According to the ambassador, they are the "isolationists" Gaydar, Nechayev, Shokhin who try to neglect Ukraine, and the "nationalist radicals" who attempt to "put the republic on its knees."

V. Krzhanovskiy said that Ukranian citizens working in certain areas of Russia start to be discriminated. In Tyumen, for instance, Ukrainian citizens who already own housing at home are "prohibited from doing the same thing in Russia."

The ambassador thinks, the West still sticks to the Russian point of view on the disputable issues of the Russo-Ukrainian relations.

In his turn the Ukrainian ambassador to London Sergey Komissarenko informed the participants of the seminar that the property of the former Soviet Union in the UK is worth hundreds of millions if not billions of pounds. Hundreds of companies and firms founded by the former USSR in Britain in the thirties still operate there, says the ambassador. S. Komissarenko thinks Ukraine has a right to claim its share in their profits which the Ukrainian side estimates to be approximately 16 percent. S. Komissarenko says Ukraine receives no assistance whatsoever from the Russian embassy in the United Kingdom.

Share of USSR UK Property Claimed

OW3103143093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov and Igor Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Ukraine has the right to claim a share of the profits made by the companies set up in Britain by the former Soviet Union since the 1930's, said the Ukrainian Ambassador to London, Sergey Komissarenko. According to him, the share of such profits Ukraine is entitled to amounts to 16.37%.

The ambassador is attending a seminar for the heads of Ukrainian diplomatic missions abroad, that opened in Kiev on Tuesday [30 March].

According to Komissarenko, "the former Soviet Union's property in Britain is estimated to be worth hundreds of millions, if not billions, of pounds sterling". The Ukrainian embassy in London doesn't have full information about these companies yet. The Russian embassy in Britain, he said, gives no aid to Ukrainian diplomats.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Reflects on Russian Congress

OW3103222793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2001 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] In his interview with our Interfax correspondent Chairman of Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Ivan Plyushch declared that events going on in Moscow are exerting a direct influence on political processes in Ukraine. On March 31 he was present at the opening of the first building of a new hospital in Kiev's Darnitsky region.

The speaker of the Ukrainian parliament believes that the events which took place at the Congress of the People's Deputies in Moscow are reflecting the situation in society. He said it is absurd to determine those who won and lost in the conflict between the executive and legislative powers in Russia.

In response to a question to what extent Ukraine's parliament will correct the draft budget and indicative plan for 1993 proposed by the government, Plyushch said that under such a rate of inflation and the instability in the economy "not a single political force, including the coalition government, will manage to encompass everything in the budget."

The major thing is that the Ukrainian people should understand that today "they will live as they can, but not the way they want to." Nevertheless, Plyushch emphasized, Kuchma's government does not intend "to cut down" social programs, including those related to dealing with the consequences of the Chernobyl atomic power plant aftermath, pension provision, and construction of buildings which meet public needs.

Future of Nikolayev Shipyard Contemplated

LD3103173593 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0500 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Telephone report by correspondent Mikhail Kukin from Nikolayev]

[Text] I am going to talk about problems in the future of the fleets of Russia and Ukraine. It is not a new subject, but a problem is still a problem.

The Nikolayev Black Sea shipyard, an enterprise oriented mainly to producing warships—it is the biggest in Ukraine and, incidentally, the only one in the former USSR capable of building aircraft carriers—is in a very difficult situation now, first and foremost because of this orientation. For probably all of the past year there have been conflicting reports in the press about who will be the owner of the aircraft carrier-cruiser Varyag. In the meantime, the aircraft carrier itself has all this time been standing at the pier for incomplete vessels at the Black Sea yard. Work on it was cut back last spring and halted altogether in November. About 70 percent of the Varyag has been built. Of course, just how far it is from completion is steadily moving backwards; the equipment gets greased up and bits get pinched, not to mention the fact that just keeping the vessel afloat costs quite a lot of money. The hull of yet another aircraft carrier—I will remind you that this aircraft carrier was to be next after the Varyag—was cut up for scrap metal last year.

So you see, it is not difficult to guess why the administration of Nikolayev Oblast and the management of the Black Sea yard has repeatedly asked the Ukrainian prime minister to visit the enterprise. This visit was put off twice because of fuel problems and then by more essential trips to Moscow and Central Asia, but at the start of the week Leonid Kuchma did finally visit the Black Sea yard. The first result was a promise to have a meeting literally in the next few days with Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin to finally resolve the matter of the Varyag. Let's hope this does happen, because government promises have already been given at lower levels and a joint commission has been set up, but there has been no decision.

The fate of naval shipbuilding in Nikolayev as a whole is even more problematic; under the present conditions neither Russia nor Ukraine can afford or indeed need powerful new ships. It is not an easy matter to trade in such goods, and reorienting the yard to producing tankers, for example, is like casting violins in a blast furnace.

Even where conversion is already under way or where output was civilian from the outset—for example, the unique trawler production at the Black Sea works—the problems are no fewer, and the prime minister was told about these, too. His reaction can perhaps be divined from the words he uttered most: Rely on your own forces.

To all appearances, however, some decisions were made following this visit, even just judging from the fact that after familiarizing himself with the yard, Leonid Kuchma had a conference with its managers which went on so long that the prime minister had to cancel all his remaining meetings planned for Nikolayev, including a news conference. I think the immediate future will show us how this reflects on the shipbuilding situation.

National Affairs

Kravchuk on Political Issues, Concept of State

MK3103130693 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 14, 4 Apr 93 (signed to Press 30 Mar 93) p A11

[Interview with President Leonid Kravchuk by Lyudmila Telen, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI deputy chief editor, under "Leaders" rubric; place and date not given: "Leonid Kravchuk: '...Politics Is Not Fisticuffs...'"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] As a rule, politicians dislike looking back over their past. And they dislike it when others do so. The "yesterday" in their biographies too frequently contradicts the "today"—such is their work. But there are politicians who are doomed to return to their past to the end of their days: The decisions they made yesterday will still make themselves felt the day after tomorrow. Such, it seems, is the fate of Leonid Kravchuk, the last ideology secretary of the Communist Party of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic and the first president of independent Ukraine.

[Telen] Mr. President, do you have a bent for reflection?

[Kravchuk] That is an inalienable quality of any normal person. But a politician, unlike others, does not have the right to reflect constantly.

[Telen] Precisely you, in coauthorship with Boris Yeltsin and Stanislav Shushkevich, put an end to the history of the Soviet Union. Have you ever regretted the Belovezhskaya Forest decision? How severely are you prepared to judge yourself and your colleagues for that political act?

[Kravchuk] It was not the Belovezhskaya Forest agreement that loused up the Union. The USSR was doomed the moment perestroyka took its first step. Democracy could not survive under conditions of an empire. Either forward to a civilized society or back to totalitarianism. There simply was no other way. Something else became obvious after the August events: The breakup of the Union was assuming the nature of a spontaneous landslide. What remained to be done? To be inactive while watching the situation develop according to the Yugoslav scenario? Or nonetheless channel this disintegration into a manageable regime? We made our choice, and I believe that it was correct. In principle. But if the situation of December 1991 were repeated today, the contents of many accords might be different.

[Telen] What do you mean?

[Kravchuk] At the time we were in a hurry artificially to break the ties that are so necessary today and that will be necessary tomorrow. The foundations of sensible economic integration were not laid in the Belovezhskaya Forest documents. Unfortunately, even today it is not always possible to separate politics from economics. You speak of oil and gas prices, and people reply: But what about the Fleet, what about nuclear weapons?

[Telen] But maybe thought should have been given at that time to further political integration?

[Kravchuk] Even a discussion of such a prospect was impossible after the State Committee for the State of Emergency. Even now, I am sure, it is untimely. I must point out that it was Ukraine's position that was the chief obstacle to concluding the new Union Treaty. Note, this was not my personal viewpoint. The framework of my political autonomy was strictly limited by the referendum results: 92 percent of Ukrainian citizens voted for independence. I had to implement their choice. And I did so.

[Telen] You are a decisive politician.

[Kravchuk] An ordinary person might object to such an assertion: No, I am indecisive.

But he answers only for himself. But if I, the country's president, say this of myself, how can I answer for the state? For me, decisiveness or indecision do not exist in themselves. They are determined by conditions....

[Telen] Mikhail Gorbachev was accused of excessive devotion to compromises. Boris Yeltsin, on the contrary, has been accused of imprudent straightforwardness. Where, for you, are the limits of acceptable concessions and permissible radicalism?

[Kravchuk] Well, imagine that someone must jump across a chasm. Does he need courage? In any case, yes. But he might land on solid ground, or he might land on sand. So, a politician must be equally brave and circumspect. His rating is decided by the kind of ground on which he, as a rule, ends up after a decisive jump.

[Telen] But politicians today frequently lack precisely self-control....

[Kravchuk] Who is not tempted from time to time to answer his opponents in a masculine way, to throw down or take up the gauntlet? But politics is not fisticuffs or a duel. I understand this. But I will not hide the fact that I also find it hard to keep within the "framework." It has happened that I have given in to my feelings and behaved with masculine straightforwardness, not with a politician's farsightedness.

[Telen] People in Russia today like to speak of "eminences grises." To what extent do you trust your advisers?

[Kravchuk] I endeavor to listen to diverse viewpoints. It is easier if they coincide in principle and differ in nuances. But there are occasions when I am inclined to trust only my own analysis: The recommendations even of my closest advisers are frequently mutually exclusive.

[Telen] Is this because you are surrounded by people with political views that do not coincide?

[Kravchuk] The reason lies in the ambiguity of the situation itself. Ukraine is a young state. We are doing a great deal for the first time in our history. Thus, our state had never before conducted an autonomous foreign policy. The Ukrainian Ministry of Foreign Affairs existed in order to form delegations to the United Nations for votes in the name of the USSR. This is why our actions in the international arena sometimes seem awkward.... Who remembers that just 5 percent of the Ukrainian economy belonged to the republic? The rest came under the Union's jurisdiction. All the cadres who managed this economy, whether badly or well, have remained in Moscow. We have a catastrophic shortage of people, experience, and knowledge.

[Telen] You like chess, which is a strictly individual sport. Does a commanding game in politics come easily to you?

[Kravchuk] Quite honestly, I find it hard to obey any decision from outside, but I seem to be learning to do so. It is easiest of all to use power, to bang your fist on the table, and to insist on your own viewpoint—as you realize, the president has opportunities for this....

[Telen] What do you think: Must an autonomous Ukraine be a national state?

[Kravchuk] I categorically oppose such a prospect. This path is unacceptable to multinational Ukraine. We are building a normal civil society.

[Telen] Are there opponents of your viewpoint?

[Kravchuk] Many. But I am convinced that national-radical sentiments will not predominate in Ukraine. It does happen, however, that these sentiments develop as a reaction to manifestations of great-Russian chauvinism. Not necessarily on the scale of state politics.

Take a very everyday issue—language. In Crimea, for example, Ukrainians make up one-third of the population, but there is not a single national school, newspaper, or theater. On the rest of the territory of Ukraine half the schools are Russian. It is sad, but I quite frequently observe the contempt that Russians have for the Ukrainian language and Ukrainian culture. Maybe this is a question not so much of political convictions as of mentality. People who have essentially lived in a colonial situation, like we Ukrainians, have their own national feelings. They differ from those felt by Russians, who are accustomed to being everyone's "elder brothers." We defend what is ours, while the Russians try to defend what they won from us. Alas, for the Russian person democratism frequently ends where Russia's interests begin, even if they are imperial interests.

[Telen] It has to be thought that until a certain time even you did not believe that Ukraine would be able to become an autonomous state.

[Kravchuk] Back in 1989 I did not believe that this was realistic. I knew the Soviet system too well from within—a powerful mechanism of suppression. It was only when the first free elections were held in the republic and the party functionaries were defeated that I realized that the system had faltered. This was in the middle of 1990.

[Telen] If you had felt then that the path toward independence would not be peaceful, would you have left politics?

[Kravchuk] No longer. It was clear to me that abandoning the struggle for independence would mean tolerating the position of a slave.

[Telen] Did you break with the Communist Party only because that was the political situation?

[Kravchuk] There were many reasons for this. I had worked on the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee for 20 years, was included in the "system," and had not yet attempted to reassess what I had to tackle. The first prompting for me was provided by the new information about the party's criminal activity which was opened up during the first years of perestroyka. The repressions, the artificial famine in Ukraine, secret foreign policy compacts....

[Telen] Was this really news to you?

[Kravchuk] I really did not suspect the scale of what was happening. And then those terrible details reflected in the documents.... One question tormented me: To what extent must the modern party and I, as its member, assume responsibility for the past? It was only the events of August 1991 that made me draw the final conclusion—the conclusion that the CPSU had learned nothing and was ready for criminal actions when it saw the need for them.

[Telen] Will you insist on the Communist Party's continuing to be banned in Ukraine?

[Kravchuk] I am not against the Communist Party of independent Ukraine. With a new program, ideas, and organizational structure. But I am, without doubt, against restoring the Ukrainian Communist Party, "the CPSU's loyal combat detachment."

[Telen] Which of the parties now operating in Ukraine is close to you?

[Kravchuk] I am tired of ideology and do not want to be driven back inside this framework, but my political orientation is an open secret. An independent, democratic Ukraine threatening no one with force.

[Telen] I cite a Ukrainian newspaper: "It is perfectly possible that at some time our descendants will call the hasty proclamation of Ukraine as nuclear-free, neutral, and nonbloc a diversion."

[Kravchuk] They will not. I do not believe in the doctrine of nuclear deterrence. That is like playing with matches. Who will win if Ukraine is also drawn into it?

[Telen] It is fashionable now to view politics as a dirty occupation. Do you, as a politician, have unshakable norms?

[Kravchuk] I will never hold talks with anyone on a revision of borders. Any haggling over this is tantamount to starting a war. Observance of human rights is a similar absolute norm. For me this is not a subject for discussion. It is possible to argue about everything else.

[Telen] Is it not even a subject for discussion among close friends?

[Kravchuk] For me this is a forbidden topic. Particularly as my friends include people with different political views. Discuss fundamental questions of politics with them? That would only disturb my state of mental equilibrium....

[Telen] Within your family?

[Kravchuk] We all hold the same views in our family.

[Telen] Do you allow yourself a break from politics, if only for 30 minutes a day?

[Kravchuk] Yes, when I walk the dog. It is a Caucasian sheep dog called Dunay. A very devoted dog, and it seems to me that we find a common language.

[Telen] Do you drive?

[Kravchuk] I did at one time, but I did not have my own car, and the official one naturally presupposed a driver, so I would not now risk taking the wheel.

[Telen] What is your attitude to clothes?

[Kravchuk] It is dictated by generally accepted norms. The president cannot afford to appear old-fashioned or, conversely, extravagant. In general, I like fine clothes....

Sevastopol Procurator Protests Banning Congress

AU0104080893 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 27 Mar 93 p 4

[Unattributed report: "The Congress Is Being Postponed"]

[Text] Sevastopol's Procurator, I. Vernydubov, has appealed against the City Council's decision to ban the holding of the Congress of Ukrainians. A session of the City Council must reconsider its decision within 10 days. Ukrainian presidential representative in Sevastopol, I. Yermakov, who earlier issued the authorization for holding the congress, ordered the suspension of the authorization for 10 days, until the session adopts a decision regarding the Procurator's protest.

Miners To Begin Three-Day Warning Strikes on 2 Apr

LD3103193793 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1732 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Gordeyev]

[Text] Donetsk March 31 TASS—Ukrainian miners will begin their three-day warning strike as scheduled - on April 2 as talks with Deputy Prime Minister Yuliy Ioffe yielded no results. The decision was confirmed on Wednesday by the Ukrainian Trade Union of Coal Miners right after a meeting with Ioffe.

Several leaders of the miners believe Ioffe was not looking for any compromise during his trip to the Donbass coal basin.

"The government seems to be provoking miners to a strike...to later create a corresponding (negative) public opinion of them", trade union Chairman Nikolay Volynko told TASS. "Then the opinion will be used to make the parliament adopt the prepared package of lawbills on labour which say nothing about freedoms and human rights", he said adding that all Donbass mines went on a strike footing.

Moscow March 31 TASS—The current constitutional crisis in Russia made the Russian Independent Miners' Trade Union call on its organisations to refrain from strikes until the referendum "on issues raised by the president" is held.

Although the trade union insists that all the demands of miners are to be met, it said that grass-root organisations and the address of the Russian president to the nation make it ask to refrain from strikes.

Ioffe Announces Response to Demands

LD3103225493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1800 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Only those who wish our economy to disintegrate completely could appeal for a strike today. By taking this step, leaders of miners' trade unions should be aware of the negative consequences that might ensue if mining enterprises stop work.

This was stated by Yuliy Ioffe, Deputy Prime Minister of Ukraine, at a news conference for Ukrainian and foreign journalists on 31 March. The news conference was on the results of a visit of a government commission to Lugansk and Donetsk oblasts, where meetings between the commission and representatives of miners, territorial, and trade union committees were held.

Yuliy Ioffe reported that a number of demands were submitted to the government by miners' trade unions pending the conclusion of a new tariff agreement. Most of the demands were examined and adopted by the Cabinet of Ministers, including the demand to introduce pay rises for underground workers.

The deputy prime minister informed journalists about measures being taken by the government to improve the work of the coal industry. The issue of its being subsidized from the state budget has been settled. Eighty billion karbovantsi have been allocated in March, and 120 billion karbovantsi will be allocated in April and the same amount in May.

This measure will make it possible to restrain coal price rises.

Defense Ministry Directorate Chief Dismissed for Corruption

PM0103095193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 30 Mar 93 p 3

[Anatoliy Polyakov report under "Events and Comments" rubric: "Latest Shake-Up in Ukrainian Ministry of Defense—New Chief of Main Staff Appointed, Chief of Personnel Directorate Dismissed"]

[Text] Kiev—By an edict of the Ukrainian president, Colonel General Anatoliy Lopata has been appointed chief of the Armed Forces Main Staff and first deputy defense minister. He is Ukrainian, was born in Kiev Oblast in 1940, and has been in the Army since 1959. He moved from the post of first deputy commander in chief of the Western Group of Forces on his appointment as Ukrainian deputy defense minister in July 1992.

Incidentally, as KRASNAYA ZVEZDA has discovered, for a long time General Lopata did not agree to the new appointment. Evidently this is connected with the fact that the Ukrainian Army is at present going through difficult times. Military hardware is standing practically motionless—there is no fuel. The number of military crimes has grown. Many draftees are avoiding military service.

But the Ukrainian leadership is most worried by instances of corruption among high-ranking army officials. That is precisely why, by order of the Ukrainian defense minister, Lieutenant General Aleksandr

Ignatenko, chief of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense Personnel Directorate, is being relieved of his duties for unsatisfactory work on the recruitment and placement of personnel; criminal proceedings have been instituted against him. He is the fifth general to be dismissed from his post in the apparatus of the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense during the year-long existence of the Ukrainian Army.

According to news agency reports, bribe-takers in military uniform were caught "assisting" an officer of the Western Group of Forces to transfer to the Ukrainian Armed Forces; a bribe in the form of money and valuables was being demanded from him. An examination carried out by the Ukrainian Ministry of Defense Main Control and Auditing Inspectorate also exposed other cases of abuse of position by officers in the personnel directorate. It was decided that the results of the examination be handed over to the Ukrainian General Prosecutor's Office.

Anticommunist Front Appeals to Citizens for Unity

AU3103113893 Ivano-Frankivsk HALYCHYNA in Ukrainian 19 Mar 93 p 4

["Appeal by the Anticommunist and Anti-Imperial Front to Citizens of the Oblast 'On the Principles of Invincibility'" issued by the Ivano-Frankivsk Oblast Forum of the Anticommunist and Anti-Imperial Front on 13 March]

[Text] Dear fellow citizens,

Throughout its history, the oppressed and plundered Ukraine had several chances to restore its statehood, but at crucial points, we always lacked unity, and our enemies made skillful use of this.

Now, that the young and not yet strong enough Ukrainian state is again under the threat of finding itself in colonial slavery and that the communist party nomenklatura is doing everything it can to restore the CPSU and, together with it, the old and bankrupt empire that collapsed under its own weight a little more than a year ago, we must join ranks against communism and Moscow imperialism.

If we want to survive as a nation and if we do not want our descendants to condemn us, let us forget the interparty disputes, and the interdenominational conflicts and differences for the sake of a great goal—the establishment of the independence of Mother Ukraine.

We have had enough ruins and discord,

Brothers should not go to war against brothers.

Let us unite our great nation

Under the blue-and-yellow banner of freedom.

(From the anthem of the Organization of Ukrainian Nationalists).

Problems Facing Ukraine Farming Sector Aired

PM0104103393 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 1

[Yu. Kulibaba report: "Sowing Campaign-93: Every Last Penny Into the Fields"]

[Text] Dnepropetrovsk—In the past, a peasant would rejoice when spring arrived. Now, everything is different. In order to see this all you have to do is to become absorbed in rural problems in places such as Dnepropetrovsk Oblast, which last year occupied first place in Ukraine in terms of the amount of grain handed over.

Instead of the planned 500,000 hectares of winter crops, only 250,000 have grown. If you take into consideration the extra amount sown, there is hope of reaching 300,000 hectares. That is not very much. In order to rectify the situation it has been decided to increase the area under spring-sown crops, but this does not guarantee definitive success, however. Problems are also arising with the top-dressing of the crops. It always used to be simpler with mineral fertilizers. As for herbicides, Ukraine used to obtain these from abroad. Now there is no currency with which to buy them. Fortunately, it has been possible to convert one of the local chemical plants.

The fuel situation is worse. The sown area is increasing, while the oil, as we know, gushes far beyond the republic's borders. Talks with Russia on this subject have been going on for some months now.

It appears that something has started to change in our psychology. Now no one waits to be told what to do. Economic ties are quietly being established with neighboring Russian oblasts. Aided by sugar and the well-known Ukrainian lard, talks are under way. Dnepropetrovsk plants are also getting involved in the discussions.

It is now easier for the big farms. Even collective farms now have to cooperate with each other. Private farmers are in a worse position. The state gives out credits both to farms and to private owners under grain-surrender contracts. In the past they tried not to sign them so as not to become slaves to the officials in advance. But now they cannot cope on their own resources alone. They are having to put a yoke around their necks. On the other hand, things are easier for city dwellers: In the fall bread will be available in the state trade sector rather than at the bazaars.

Belarus

Kebich Addresses Supreme Soviet 30 Mar

WS3103125093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0633 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Speech by Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich at the 11th Supreme Soviet session in Minsk— live, in Russian]

[Text] Esteemed Deputies:

I would like to take the floor at the very beginning and answer several questions on the [CIS] economic union. I have the feeling that this issue needs to be addressed once again. Let us be objective: many of our economic hardships are caused by the external factors in some regions of the former Soviet Union. At the same time, it would be wrong to maintain that the CIS does not play a positive role. Among its benefits are no-visa travel of citizens; regular operation of air, railroad, and pipeline transport; energy systems; finance and credit systems; and fuel supplies. We have to admit that economic hardships would be far greater without the CIS. The opposition members, insisting on the abrupt disruption of traditional links and a pro-Western orientation, are perfectly aware of this. They also fully realize that our CIS partners will inevitably undertake retaliatory measures, which the West would never be able to compensate for. In other words, they suggested the following formula: The worse, the better. The only problem is that it would be better for the opposition and worse for the Belarusian people.

The CIS also has its weak points. In the first place, no mechanisms have been developed that could force partners to fulfill the assumed economic commitments. Certain cooperation issues defy any solution and systematically reappear on numerous agendas and in different conference rooms. At their meetings, councils of state and government leaders do not bring up the fundamental problems of cooperation, and their final agreements offer no mechanisms for their implementation. Unfortunately, the Commonwealth is based to a large extent on mere declarations. We must change this situation and seek new and more efficient forms of economic relations. It has become increasingly clear that only the economic union can become a truly efficient form of cooperation. Such a union would clearly define legal and economic responsibilities of its participants, who must also agree on establishing relevant economic institutions.

The union will not work without mutual obligations in the sphere of economic trade relations, and hampered by artificial barriers. Tell me please, what kind of union will work without the resolution of border and customs issues? (?Barriers and obstacles impede mutual supplies of goods). Moreover, no union will work without the coordination of the budgetary and financial issues. Many of the adopted decisions are practically defunct because there is no material responsibility for the obligations assumed. We believe that the union's representative institutions should be introduced and given powers equalling those of a deputy leader of the country.

Day and night, I worry about the difficult situation of many of our enterprises. I am talking about big ones—using the old language, leaders of our industry, including the tractor and automobile plants, [word indistinct] factory, the Integral concern, and many others. What should we do if tomorrow the output of the above enterprises becomes a worthless ballast, occupying most of their depots. Are we supposed to pickle it or use it as scrap metal? And where will the working teams go? Is our state capable of supporting hundreds of unemployed?

Today, an increasing number of enterprises and trade unions appeal to the government and the Supreme Soviet for the solution of their difficult situation. The Scientific and Industrial Association has clearly expressed its negative attitude toward this. It is clear that we should restore all of the old links which kept our economy going in the previous structure—perhaps bad, distorted, energy-consuming, and export-orientated, but still giving people a chance to earn and work for a living. We should explicitly declare that the economic union is necessary. We must cast away all kinds of syntheses and political reasoning, because any delay turns out too costly.

[Words indistinct] derisive digs about my report delivered at the meeting of executive committees chairmen. This is just disgusting! You should know better than to watch each other through the spy glass. I supported active economic links with other CIS countries with all the leverages that these links offer: financial, credit, budgetary, and economic policies. The government will receive relevant powers from the Supreme Soviet. [words indistinct] I am talking about powers standing on a higher level. These powers concern our statehood in the sense that if we want to see Belarus strengthening and flourishing, we need to abandon a provincial mentality. We should do our best to prevent our economy from collapsing. After all, there can be no state without an economy.

It is a very complex task to forge an economic union. Let nobody think that it takes only the snap of a finger to make everyone hug each other. I want to emphasize once again: this would not be a pleasure trip through all of the CIS capitals, but a tiresome work with protracted persuasions and [word indistinct] argumentation. This would not be the work of the governments alone. The Supreme Soviets will also have to put forth much effort since the solution of some issues are in their exclusive competence. We should have this in mind and accept it, because this is what our Republics need. You have to be excessively presumptuous or naive to submit these issues to the Supreme Soviet without previously discussing them with other CIS leaders. After having exchanged opinions with some of them, I am convinced that [words indistinct] obstacles in this direction. This is why, esteemed people's deputies, I am calling upon you from this rostrum to adopt decisions on these issues. I am asking you for one thing: do not let different opinions affect the right decisions, and do not succumb to the influence of those who want [words indistinct] theoretical reasoning [words indistinct]. Let us all be above this. Let us not be guided by political ambitions, but the

interests of the Republic. The situation requires you to rise above all the narrow political considerations and to make decisions that would help our economy survive this crisis. But in order to move in this direction, the government needs relevant powers from you. I will return yet again to the issue of economic union in my concluding speech.

Addresses 31 Mar Session

WS0104104093 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0719 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Speech by Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich at the 11th Supreme Soviet Session in Minsk—live, in Russian]

[Text] Esteemed people's deputies!

Certainly, we could not expect [words indistinct] conflicting views that exclude different opinions, by discussing such complicated issues as the economic situation in the Republic, the creation of an economic union, and the immediate measures for halting the economic decline. This is absolutely normal. I was amazed by something else.

I am certain that the overwhelming majority of the deputies know the complicated economic situation in Belarus. They know how much it depends on the interrelations with other regions of the former USSR, especially with Russia, and how important it is to prevent the deterioration of these ties. I will never be able to believe that some deputies do not understand this. No, they do understand. That is why there is [word indistinct] internal anxiety when some of the deputies, under the cover of the so-called big politics and concern for the people's welfare, are deliberately pushing us toward a situation where the economy will be brought to its knees, mass unemployment will ensue, people's living conditions will deteriorate even more, and tension will appear in society that will lead it to extremes. Unfortunately, not all of them have managed to overcome their political claims and come up to the level of [words indistinct] the feeling of their personal responsibility for the destiny of our state. Just another time certain politicians tried to use this platform in order to arouse emotional tension and distract the legislature from the key issues. [passage indistinct]. I am pleased that the majority of the deputies take close to their hearts our common concern over the destiny of Belarus. I have formed an impression that the odds are in favor of common sense. These deputies support the idea of a new economic union, its necessity and immediate formation.

I would like to inform you that yesterday, the government had lengthy and very difficult talks with Shokhin, Russian deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, and Mashchits, minister for CIS issues. We discussed the [word indistinct] issues concerning the establishment of the economic union. Our idea of this union was approved in principle. I would like to say that the Russian side stated that new tendencies have emerged in Russia. The deputies who yesterday counterbalanced other opinions and urged us to think about who needs whom more are absolutely right. The dominant tendencies of [words indistinct] other CIS republics is an additional weight to Russia. We should put the problem like this today—it is not Russia that needs Belarus, but it is we who need Russia. That is why, dear deputies, the talks were really difficult. Russia's approach toward Belarus considerably differs from its approach toward other CIS republics. They plainly asked me: At whose expense is the war going on? [Words indistinct] that practically no goods are produced in Azerbaijan or Armenia, but shots are fired, gas is available, tanks move, and planes fly. At whose expense? That is why when we speak about the CIS we should always remember at what cost these [word indistinct] wars are continuing which are actually turning into civil wars. I would like to say that the Russian side has fully understood our position. We have decided to continue the talks. They will begin as soon as the government frees itself from this session. We have reached an agreement in principle to postpone the introduction of customs duties on oil and other resources supplied to our country and to ensure the deliveries of oil quotas allotted to us. These are the results of yesterday's negotiations.

I am also very pleased that the deputies have voiced a lot of... Stanislav Stanislavovich, [passage indistinct, Kebich complains about noise and lack of attention; Shushkevich urges deputies to maintain order]. I am also very pleased that the deputies have voiced a lot of interesting ideas that enrich our understanding about the economic union, and a number of proposals and remarks about the current issues, despite the categoric and harsh tone of some addresses. The government will immediately begin implementing all good proposals that have been put forward.

These proposals and remarks also concern the need to take better care of our agriculture and the system of [word indistinct] security. The government deals with these issues practically every day, but it will inevitably return to this issue because of the criticism.

Many deputies have noted that a number of industrial enterprises are in an extremely difficult financial situation. This is true. The government is very much concerned about this. We are working on different options of assisting them and proposing to [words indistinct] the compulsory Chernobyl loan included in the budget. I am talking about (60) billion rubles which make up about 10 percent of the profit of enterprises. In order not to disrupt the financing at the expense of this loan, we will probably have to assign this sum to the internal state debt. We will have to resolve this issue at the next Supreme Soviet session. If everything depended on the government, these issues would have been settled long ago. The more so that we are interested in them and are able to relieve the tension concerning those issues which do not require a Supreme Soviet decision.

A number of proposals and remarks deal with social issues. The latter are very urgent and must be resolved immediately. The government is going to do this as far as possible. Everything, however, rests on the economy. If we improve our economy, we will resolve social issues.

The deputies have also touched on a number of other issues, for example, youth problems, housing construction, social security for disabled people, and so on. The government will discuss them all. However, I would like to note the following thing. I think that the deputies criticized the government here so much because many of them do not know what has been done and what is being done to resolve these issues. We should take this as a reproach to the government and its departments. It is not so difficult to amend this. I believe that we will reach an agreement with the Supreme Soviet committees on how to better inform the deputies.

Now I would like to touch on the issue around which we saw emotions flaring up. I am talking about a possibility of Belarus joining the agreement on collective security. Of course, this question is very complicated. However, any attempts at political games around this problem are simply unacceptable. It would be extremely naive to hope that such a union would be formed in a short time even under favorable conditions. We may be speaking not about one month or two but about a considerably longer period. We still have to work much in order to achieve a positive result. And one more thing. You should not reproach me for not raising the issue on collective security. I discussed this problem in my address to the chairmen of councils of all levels. This issue does not fall within the competence of the government. This is solely a Supreme Soviet problem.

Esteemed People's Deputies!

We should maintain normal relations with all states, primarily with our neighbors. If we speak about Russia, we should have our lobby there, as deputy (Dovgalev) has noted. Let us imagine how we could achieve this when almost every opposition member believes that it is his duty to openly or indirectly compete in criticizing Russia. This way they help neither the government nor the Supreme Soviet. Certainly, Russia has great difficulties now. We are carefully following the events there. We are not indifferent to Russia's situation. It is this country whose development affects the whole world, to say nothing of its neighbors. Let us take this into consideration. Our speeches concerning Russia should not be insulting or irresponsible. This is simply improper [passage indistinct].

Unfortunately, there are many opposition deputies in our legislature who, under the cover of the care for the people and the destiny of the state, like to lecture everyone on any sphere with the help of their eloquence. They are able to cope with anything—politics, culture, agriculture, industry, and finance. It turns out that one can live most of one's life by giving prescriptions about how to better restructure the economy, implement the agrarian reform, or create the bank and financial system. It is not me who began this speech. Yesterday's speeches compelled me to respond this way. It would be good if such prescriptions [words indistinct]. They often are so vain that one does not know how to react to them. The most important thing for them is to make some noise, proclaim their existence, and just one more time reject a government proposal. To be quite honest, I sometimes [words indistinct] to put forward a proposal that fully coincides with the position of the opposition. I believe that all the same the government will be severely criticized for such proposals. I have already tried to do this. I can give you an example when my opinion coincided with the views of the opposition. I wanted that [words indistinct] was in the spirit of the former Central Committee conferences. [Shouts of disagreement in audience; Shushkevich appeals to keep order]. The opposition demanded my resignation, regardless of whether I did not touch it or supported its opinion.

Esteemed People's Deputies!

I appeal to you once again to support the proposals about creating the economic union. These proposals are reflected in the draft resolution that you have. We should do this by all means in order to immediately begin talks with the interested parties. Only then can we expect that all difficulties which our country is experiencing today will be overcome with fewer losses. I can [word indistinct] the most unpleasant criticism. I am able to understand even those people who think that they are intelligent and cannot [words indistinct] in their speeches. The problem is not here. The matter is that we must live. I can assure you that the government will adopt all measures to resolve the tasks assigned to it.

A slight deviation concerning the draft resolution [words indistinct]. You can submit any proposals. I am not satisfied with [words indistinct]. This is the business of the deputies. Neither the Supreme Soviet chairman nor the chairman of the Council of Ministers can [words indistinct] stand on this platform and account for [words indistinct]. [Words indistinct] a proposal that Supreme Soviet Chairman Shushkevich and the chairman of the Council of Ministers deliver reports on the performed work. We can do everything concerning such most significant issues as the economy and the creation of the economic union exactly in a month. Is this mockery or [words indistinct] other measures?

Thank you for your attention.

Shushkevich Addresses Supreme Soviet 31 Mar

WS3103155593 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 1027 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Speech by Supreme Soviet Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich at the 11th Supreme Soviet session in Minsk—live]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] National Security Sphere

The Supreme Soviet and the government have developed the key laws and other legal acts, such as the laws on defense, Armed Forces, state border, etc. [word indistinct] for the rapid creation of mechanisms for their implementation and the reform of the Army, safeguarding the border, and their proper execution, including the issue of social safeguards.

The Supreme Soviet has received a number of proposals aimed to enhance crime-fighting measures, including the increase in the Security Council powers. Obviously, fighting crime is one of the functions of this structure. The Security Council should coordinate the activities of state organs in the area of defense, the constitutional order, state sovereignty, the republic's territorial integrity, ecological situation, and the maintenance of political stability. The role of the council is not to adopt decisions that must be executed [as received], but to examine draft laws concerning military policy prior to legislative review; to determine priorities in the sphere of protecting state and citizens' interests; to take measures to enhance the system of national security. Legislative and executive branches cooperate within the framework of this structure. However, the division of authority does not mean isolation. There are no impenetrable barriers between the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers.

On the contrary, the division of authority facilitates cooperation on issues of common interest to both bodies. This is why the status of the Security Council needs to be redefined, particularly because it was crafted under the former Soviet Union. The Security Council must be an efficient, and not a decorative body. However, this should be done in complete compliance with the Constitution [words indistinct]. Preliminary examination of the new draft law on the Security Council, by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers, has revealed a range of discrepancies that require some relevant changes. Given the general awareness of the need to increase the efficiency of this structure, we will continue to work on this draft and will submit it for review during the next Supreme Soviet session.

The republic's national security is greatly determined by its foreign policy. The maintenance of security and consistent strengthening of the defensive capabilities opens the door to escalation and military confrontation. Such policy may lead a country even more powerful than the Republic of Belarus to a dead end. Saber-rattling on the international arena does not go together either with our country's true potential, or the fundamentals of the Belarusian foreign policy.

I am convinced that the principle of neutrality, included in the Declaration of Sovereignty, should define Belarusian foreign policy for centuries to come. Neutrality involves a number of aspects and general characteristics. Permanent neutrality, as part of state policy in peacetime, commits this state to steering a course of avoiding: Involvement in a war; the raising of territorial claims on neighbors, or entering into military pacts; permitting other countries to establish military bases on our territory; concluding treaties that entail political and economic preparations for war; membership in political and economic groupings connected with military blocks; equipping the Army with weapons of mass destruction.

I am a firm supporter of Belarus's neutrality. I am not sure if we should include this clause in the constitution, but it should be codified in our laws and international laws and agreements. We should not think that Belarus's obligations to become a neutral country are incompatible with the U.N. statute. You know, the tenth session of the United Nations has granted membership to the neutral Austria, which means that the world community accepts the compatibility of its membership and the neutral status of a country. What is more, the neutral countries appear to be the most active fighters for peace.

Foreign Political Activity

Belarus is a unique country. Currently, the world is looking at us with curiosity. But we should not idealize the world community. It is impossible to avoid a collision of interests. The Belarusian Foreign Ministry, whose actions have not been positively evaluated by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet and the deputies, is developing a mechanism for entering the world community. What is the Presidium's opinion of the Foreign Ministry's activities? At first, I would like to give you an example. At the last session of the UN Assembly, the yearly contribution of Belarus to the UN budget was increased by $2 million while our representatives were asking to decrease our contribution. How could it have happened? The answer is simple: the professional diplomatic incompetence of our diplomats. As a rule, the issues concerning the countries that are UN members are usually brought before the Assembly by friendly countries, but never by the countries themselves. In addition, the issue is not voted for if a positive outcome is uncertain. Preliminary consultations with all the UN members are necessary before the issue is introduced.

Next, our diplomats have not taken into consideration that discussions are informally prohibited in two cases: when the UN statute and the financial contribution to the UN budget are discussed. Why? The United Nations is cautious not to provoke a chain reaction. If the contribution of Belarus is decreased, then some other countries would like to be granted the same privileges. This is a defeat for our diplomats. But can you imagine that at the same session, Armenia managed to be granted the status of a state which had suffered from an ecological disaster and consequently it was released from a membership fee. But such diplomatic defeats occur (?together with) pompous trips of our Foreign Ministry officials abroad. In the opinion of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pays too much attention to the contacts with the international nongovernmental organizations and forgets about the development of bilateral relations with the states which are of priority importance for the economic and political

interests of the Republic. This is particularly true for the CIS countries which are outside the vision of our Foreign Ministry. This was confirmed by the Foreign Ministry representative at the last session of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet. It is a pity, but instead of conducting thorough work on the most important issues of Belarusian foreign policy, the ministry's activities are mainly concentrated in the sphere of cultural work abroad.

Next, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs does not get the political information delivered through diplomatic channels. Consequently, the Supreme Soviet and the government do not receive qualified analysis of the latest political events. The Foreign Ministry does not analyze the foreign political information from the point of view of its use for Belarusian foreign policy. The Foreign Ministry personnel are employed on the basis of preconceived ideas. The drawbacks in work of the Foreign Ministry are also connected with the fact that this ministry does not fulfill its mission as a coordinator of Belarusian foreign policy. Let us take an example. We sign an agreement. Then, we wait for some results. But we do not do anything to let the results emerge. I have never seen the Foreign Ministry schedule for the work on the signed agreements. [Words indistinct] I want to add that some initiatives in the foreign policy sphere belong to the Supreme Soviet commissions. For example, the Start 1 agreement was ratified only thanks to the thorough work of the Supreme Soviet Presidium. This showed the whole world community that Belarus is responsible for its obligations. As a result, the United States confirmed its readiness to widen bilateral cooperation with Belarus in the humanitarian, technical, and economic spheres. The U.S. Government has allocated $65 million for aid in the spheres of economy, technology, and security. The present leadership of the Foreign Ministry cannot carry out effective work on behalf of the Foreign Ministry and can become detrimental to our national interests. [passage omitted]

Kravchanka Criticizes Parliament on Foreign Policy

OW0104122793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1050 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Belarusian Foreign Minister Petr Kravchanka stated that behind Parliament Chairman Stanislav Shushkevich's criticism of the Foreign Ministry is the wish "to establish daily control over its work." Speaking in parliament on Wednesday [31 March] evening, he rejected charges that the Belarusian Foreign Ministry has no concept of foreign policy and said that it was the parliament's job to develop such a concept. To quote Kravchenko, the Foreign Ministry submitted its draft concept to the parliament back in September 1992. However, to this day, the deputies have not discussed it, he added.

He also expressed the wish that the Belarusian foreign policy "be made immune to the struggle between parties and movements, guided by their own momentary considerations." On March 31, chairman of the Belarusian parliament Stanislav Shushkevich criticized the Foreign Ministry and accused it of inactivity, "low diplomatic skills" and failure to pay due attention to the CIS countries. He also proposed that the Foreign Ministry be merged with the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations.

CIS Economic Union Negotiations Said Authorized

LD3103163193 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1612 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By BELINFORM for TASS]

[Text] Minsk March 31 TASS—Belarusian lawmakers authorised on Wednesday [31 March] their speaker and prime minister to "urgently initiate negotiations with states interested in economic integration with Belarus" to create a single economic union.

Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has earlier proposed an economic tri-partite union of Belarus, Russia and Kazakhstan. However, the idea was criticised by Ivan Korotchenya, coordinator of the CIS working group, who said it would destabilise the Commonwealth.

Belarusian lawmakers believe the new union should be based on the principles of strict implementation of adopted decisions, joint economic policy, similar national legislation and the creation coordination institutions.

The speaker and the prime minister were authorised to conclude agreements on several economic issues.

At the same time the opposition insisted on the confidence vote to the prime minister. 156 lawmakers voted for Kebich while 23 against.

Central Europe NATO Commander in Chief Visits Minsk

WS3103091393 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0300 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] By invitation of Belarusian Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy, NATO Commander in Chief of Allied Forces Central Europe [name indistinct] is staying in Minsk. On 31 March, he will meet with state officials at the Belarusian Supreme Council, and at the Defense Ministry. In addition, he will visit the High Military Engineering School. A press conference will be held at 1630 local time, in the Central House of Officers.

Meets National Security Committee Chairman

WS0104111593 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] General Henning von Onidarza, NATO commander in chief of Allied Forces Central Europe, is staying in Minsk by invitation of the Belarusian Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy. On 31 March, he met Vyacheslav Grib, chairman of the Supreme Soviet Committee for National Security, Defense, and Combating Organized Crime. During the conversation, they discussed cooperation in the sphere of defense. The NATO guest visited the High Military Engineering School and held a talk with Defense Minister Pavel Kozlovskiy. On the same day, General von Onidarza and his wife attended a performance at the Musical Comedy Theater. Today the guest will hold a meeting at the Council of Ministers and the Foreign Ministry of the Republic of Belarus.

Russian Ambassador Terms Relations 'Model for All CIS'

WS0104092893 Minsk Radio Minsk Network in Belarusian 0400 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Speaking to an RIA correspondent, Russian Ambassador to Belarus Igor Saprykin said: Russian-Belarusian relations can serve as a model for all CIS members. In his opinion, the two countries have a similar point of view on the prospects and goals of their relations. At the same time, Igor Saprykin does not consider that there are no problems in the relations between the two countries. They exist in the military field, said the ambassador, and they pertain to the withdrawal of Russian strategic forces from Belarusian territory. They exist in the field of economy as well, with regard to the price of Russian oil and the Belarusian quota. However, emphasized Igor Saprykin, the point is that there is not a single issue in our relations, that cannot be solved.

Prime Minister Urges Prosecutor To File Libel Suit

MK0104072093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No 14, 4 Apr 93 (signed to press 30 Mar) p A5

[Larisa Sayenko report under the "Press" rubric: "The Citizen is Dead, Long Live the Prime Minister!"]

[Text] Belarusian Prime Minister Vyacheslav Kebich has submitted a petition to the procurator's office requesting that his good name be protected.

He said at a press conference that reports in the mass media, particularly in KOMMERSANT-DAILY and on Ostankino Television, alleging that the premier's family members were involved in financial tricks, were "dirty fabrications that have nothing to do with reality." This is the opinion of Kebich, who asked General Prosecutor Vasiliy Sholodonov to check the information being disseminated and act in accordance with the law.

Why Vyacheslav Frantsevich has not resorted to protection by court, choosing instead that of the prosecutor's office, is somewhat confusing. The commentary on the Civil Code of the Republic of Belarus states cheerlessly that a prosecutor may file a libel suit, but "...after the citizen's demise." Luckily, Vyacheslav Kebich is alive and not even ill. Nor could the head of government be deemed a disabled person, whose interests in such instances are to be protected by the prosecutor's office.

The author of "dirty fabrications" in KOMMERSANT-DAILY, however, may soon find himself behind bars: a district court passed a ruling whereby Aleksandr Starikevich is to spend 15 days in jail under administrative arrest for failure to attend court proceedings.

What makes the situation where the head of government is looking for protection from the press particularly ironic is that virtually all the republic's newspapers and magazines are subordinate to the Council of Ministers.

Destruction of MiG-27s Begins According to CFE Treaty

LD0104141193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1236 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By BELINFORM-TASS correspondent Leonid Tratsevskiy]

[Text] Minsk, 1 Apr—In accordance with the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe (CFE) ratified by its parliament, the Republic of Belarus has started destroying MiG-27 operational aircraft.

The first fuselage of a previously dismantled aircraft was cut up at the "Lesnaya" military base near the town of Baranovichi today; the operation was monitored by a group of NATO inspectors. A BELINFORM correspondent was told at the Belarus National Agency for Control and Inspections that disassembled spares, joints, and materials would be sold through the commercial directorate of the Republican Defense Ministry to state and cooperative enterprises and firms. Ten aircraft of this type are to be destroyed at the first stage.

Delegation Leaves for Economic Talks in Bonn

LD0104145893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1328 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By BELINFORM correspondent Mikhail Zhuravovich for TASS]

[Text] Minsk April 1 TASS—The Belarus-German Council for Economic Cooperation, the second session of which will take place in Germany from April 1 to 3, has been urged to assist development of business relations between Belarus and Germany.

A delegation from the republic headed by First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers of Belarus Mikhail Myasnikovich, left for Bonn today to participate in the meeting. The delegation is made up of ministers, managers of enterprises, experts in industry and agriculture, representatives of financial establishments, entrepreneurs and scientists.

Whilst in Germany the Belarus delegation plans to sign agreements between both countries "on developing wide-scale cooperation in the fields of economy, industry, science and technology and on assistance in protection of foreign investments."

1993 projects on the Hermes credit line will also be reviewed, as well as training of Belarusian experts in Germany and shipments as well as on the delivery to Belarus of grain, vegetable oil, sugar, baby food and medicines on a barter basis and other aspects of mutually beneficial relations.

Moldova

Snegur Says Republic's Interests Depend on Russia

OW3103142793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1301 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Moldovan President Mircea Snegur has expressed the hope that in the political confrontation in Russia, victory will go to President Boris Yeltsin and democrats. In the Moldovan president's opinion, voiced on Wednesday [31 March] during a meeting with a delegation from the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development [IBRD], on which forces would rise to the top in Moscow, democrats or conservatives, stabilization in the left-bank regions and in southern Moldova depends greatly on the outcome.

The head of state said in particular that the parliamentary commission would continue to control work on normalizing the situation in these regions, striving to inform their inhabitants of the necessity of urgently carrying out economic reforms, Snegur said.

"Their implementation will enable peace to be reached more easily in a united and sovereign Republic of Moldova," the Moldovan president stated.

During the conversation, the necessity of rapidly putting the privatization program into practice and of introducing a national currency was spoken of. Opportunities for the IBRD to grant credits of $60-70 Mn [million] were discussed in order to modernize the food processing industry and agro-industrial complex in the republic.

Sangheli Receives Chisinau Hunger Strikers

AU3103205693 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1900 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Calin Petrescu report from Chisinau]

[Text] Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli today received representatives of certain veterans of the Dniester conflict, currently in the third day of their hunger strike. The Moldovan fighters organized their protest to draw the attention of Moldova's leadership and public opinion to their situation.

The sides examined the demands of the hunger strikers and finally reached the agreement that the government body in charge of dealing with issues related to the Dniester refugees and Moldovan volunteers should also include a number of persons from among the hunger strikers.

After the talks, Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli made a statement in which he promised that the government would solve all problems of the refugees and volunteers, in compliance with already existing regulations.

Persons empowered by Moldovan President Mircea Snegur, Parliament Chairman Petru Lucinschi, and Prime Minister Andrei Sangheli held negotiations with Dniester officials. An agreement was reached, according to which the leadership of the non-constitutionally established Dniester republic allows the wives of the [six Moldovan fighters] imprisoned in Tiraspol to see their husbands, Sangheli announced.

The protest action of hunger strikers is supported by the movement of the volunteers, the movement of fighters [for Moldova's integrity], and the Christian-Democratic Women's League of Moldova.

Impact of Events in Russia on Chisinau, Dniester Viewed

AU3103160393 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1955 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS, 30/3/1993—The crisis of power in the Russian Federation and its impact have become more and more unpredictable. Regardless, that according to the chief of Russian diplomacy, "there are no reasons for expecting a civil war," the confrontation from the Kremlin causes changes in political scenery from the CIS. Official and non-official circles that are oriented to Russia face a situation when they have to take into account the realities. One cannot unleash, for example in Moldova, an implacable policy towards the East as long as from Russia there comes crisis and instability instead of promised guarantees. Supporters without reserves which are more or less declared as belonging to anti-Yeltsin groups, are now to become supporters with reserves. At least they have to temper their enthusiasm tinted with propaganda. Their opponents do not exploit the situation, but express their

anxiety and declare their support to Russian democratic forces headed by President Yeltsin. In the long term, the credibility of any project of cooperation with Russia, should it be a political, economic or other one is condemned to suspicion. The Service of Political Analysis near the State Board of Moldova is even more categoric in this connection. Vlad Darie, the chief of the service in question underlined that "the major option for Moldova is now to definitely cut links with the empire." In the opinion of the chief of the Service of Political Analysis, "pro-imperial and pro-communist forces from Chisinau are just waiting for the signal from Moscow in order to proceed to the restoration of the Soviet Empire." Attempts to remove President Yeltsin constituted in the long term an occasion for public opinion's acknowledgement of the fact that "especially these forces were mentioned by President Snegur in his declaration from February this year regarding the danger of a coup d'etat." Such vision upon things provides more questions. Which are the factors that are "pro-imperial and pro-communist" in Chisinau that prepare the coup d'etat? How are they represented in the Parliament? Which forces would President Snegur trust in order to defeat them victoriously? The Service for Political Analysis identifies also an eventual coup d'etat with the undermining of the presidential institution as well as the signing of the statute of the CIS. Local observers remarked that not one of the parties or political groups that could be suspected of orthodox or moderate "pro-imperial and pro-communist" clearly indicated their views on the edge of the crisis from Moscow. President Snegur estimated that the failure of democrats in Moscow would mean "the coming into force of the architects of the disintegration of the Republic of Moldova." In his turn, Alexandr Caraman, the vice-president of the self-proclaimed Dniester Republic, declared that "regardless of the results of the confrontation between Yeltsin and the opposition, the echo of the latter could be felt also in Moldova as well as in Dniester." The commander of the 14th Army, General Lebed was unusually reticent in appreciation, claiming that he does not know how events would progress and how they would effect Dniester. Whatever the claims, the export of the crisis of democratic authorities from Russia to the former socialist republics will have an impact similar to that of boomerang. As the Russian crisis intensifies, Moscow will import more distrust from the part of "peripheries" of the former USSR.

'Revival of Relations' With Romania Viewed

AU3103155893 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1955 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Chisinau, BASAPRESS 30/3/1993—During last week a certain revival of relations on different levels between the Republic of Moldova and Romania took place. On March 23, in Bucharest, a bilateral protocol was signed between the inter-ministerial committee for relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania, coordinated by Teodor Melescanu, the state minister, the minister of foreign relations and the Council for the Coordination of Economic Relations between the Republic of Moldova and Romania, headed by Nicolae Andronati, the prime-vice-minister of the Republic of Moldova.

The document reflects the terms between those two Romanian states in the areas of economy, agriculture, energy, industry, commerce, transport, banking and finance, the preparation of personnel, the supply of school books, improvement of conditions regarding the traffic of goods and the travelling over border points across the River Prut. In connection to the meeting in Bucharest, Nicolae Andronati emphasised: "We signed a protocol of intentions which encompasses all domains of national economy. I think that our relations will become more intensive after this." However, an impression is conveyed that the Bucharest factor becomes more sensible in the economic life of Chisinau and local observers state that the process of economic integration of those two Romanian states does not overstep the level of good intentions. The creation of free economic zones becomes a revelation in this connection. The harmonisation of these relations which provides the synchronisation of laws and the creation of a unique economic space is vehemently rejected by the officials from Chisinau because they plead for "small steps" in the evolution of such relations. Categorical declarations that are made in connection with these problems discourage not only businessmen but economic factors, too. They state again that commerce with Romania is performed to the prejudice of the Republic of Moldova. The mass media from Chisinau informed its readers last week that the export to Romania comprised 325 million US dollars, while the imports 135 million US dollars, and underlined that goods valued at 110 million dollars that did not bring any profit to Moldova were transported to Romania. In such a way the idea of the inefficiency of economic relations between those two Romanian states is accredited. The goal of such declarations is quite transparent. Some observers state that they actually seek to justify the strengthening of economic relations with Moscow to which industrial enterprises are especially oriented. But statistics are impartial. According to the communique of State Department for Statistics, 71.7 percent of the volume of external commerce of Moldova in 1992 was sent to Romania. Although experiencing decline, that indicator achieved a level of 68.6 percent in January-February, this year. An encouraging element could be a permanent mechanism of collaboration elaborated during the meeting in Bucharest held on March 23. "The economic integration of Romania and Moldova must be realised in practice and not only declared," stated Dionis Antocel, the general director of the Production Association

"ALFA", one of the leaders of the Democratic Labour Party. Last year, the Association in question imported from Romania 70 percent of the accessories necessary for assembling television sets. At the same time, local observers state that deputies at the Congress of the constitution of the Democratic Labour Party, a party which comprises big industrialists from the Republic of Moldova, vehemently rejected the proposal to include in its programme the option for economic integration with Romania. It represents an attitude that betrays those spirits that dominate certain circles in Chisinau.

Kazakhstan

Speaker, President Address Parliament Session

LD3103190293 Alma-Ata KAZTAG in Russian 1100 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] The scheduled Ninth Session of the Supreme Assembly started work at 1000 on 30 March in Parliament House in Alma-Ata.

People's deputies observed a minute's silence in honor of their fellow citizens who died recently as a result of the natural disaster in Turgay and a number of adjacent oblasts.

An introductory speech was made to the deputies by parliamentary chairman Serikbolsyn Abdildin. The convening of this session in March, he said, was caused first of all by the need for additional legislation to deal with the economic reform being carried out by the government. Deputies are being offered a package of draft laws on radical change to the banking and taxation system and the foundations of currency regulation in the republic. It is proposed to make substantial amendments to laws on property, privatization, enterprises, and a whole range of other issues. The issue of providing credits to agriculture is also fundamental.

Second, the head of parliament continued, the political situation in the CIS and the active foreign policy activity of Kazakhstan require examination and ratification at this session of a number of interstate agreements and international legal enactments.

And, third, it is necessary to discuss drafts of those laws which were submitted previously but which were not examined.

Serikbolsyn Abdildin particularly noted that decisions on all the draft laws submitted at the session must correspond to the new constitution of the republic, develop its provisions and implement them. Now we have a situation where the newly adopted fundamental law has been examined at sittings of oblast soviets and interpreted locally. Measures have been set out for its unswerving implementation.

The speaker also drew the attention of the deputies to the fact that all three branches of the supreme state power will have to continue improving the mechanism of their interaction, proceeding from the constitution, on the basis of good will and mutual respect, but also at the same time on foundations of principle. This is all the more important in that there is a tendency in our life to attribute to each other the existing economic and other difficulties.

As for the attitude of the Supreme Assembly, the chairman stressed, as before, so now too the parliament must stand on a position of checks and balances. We, he said, are in favor of arguments and discussions in which sometimes the truth is borne with excruciating difficulty. But the Supreme Kenges is against confrontation. It should never give in to any sort of provocations and is obliged always to take a position of defending state interests.

The authority of the Supreme Assembly should be strengthened not by pressure on other branches of power, but by a rising level of demands on the executive and by purposeful work for the good of the people.

In current conditions when there is no real opposition, when there are no strong political parties, relations between the branches of power should be built strictly upon mutual responsibility. It is time to stop lulling people—equal demands should be made on everyone for exercising their authority, everyone should adopt a stance of the strictest observance of laws and the constitution.

With the adoption of the constitution of sovereign Kazakhstan, which clearly sets out the limits of power, a new situation has emerged in society and in the state. It has shown quite clearly the unsuitability of the old approaches. The head of parliament said that we can and must create entirely new relations in the state, based on real observance of the principle of the division of powers, on a real recognition of democratic values, and on genuine respect for the rights and liberties of the individual. This has to become the traditional, everyday norm of relations for everyone.

On behalf of the Supreme Assembly Serikbolsyn Abdildin appealed to all branches of power, all sociopolitical forces in the republic, and all citizens, to direct their efforts toward lifting the country out of economic decline and spiritual impoverishment, and towards building a democratic, law-governed state.

Deputies then got down to examining the agenda and procedure of work for the session. They are being endorsed with due account of proposals submitted.

Having examined representations from Murat Rayev, chairman of the Committee for Deputies' Powers and Human Rights, the Supreme Assembly resolved to recognize the powers of newly elected people's deputies Toktar Aubakirov (Komsomolskiy constituency 44, Aktyubinsk oblast), and Vasiliy Drobyshevskiy (Kalininskiy constituency 164, town of Leninsk).

A session secretariat is being elected.

After this the session began discussing draft laws. The session was addressed by President Nursultan Nazarbayev.

Present at the sessions are members of the Cabinet of Ministers, chairmen of oblast soviets of people's deputies, heads of oblast administrations, heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Alma-Ata, and representatives of the mass media.

Introduction of National Currency 'Too Dangerous'

OW3103223693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 2000 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Kazakh parliament was the first out of the Commonwealth's states to ratify the CIS Charter on Wednesday [31 March]. Addressing a conference of deputy-agrarians the same day in Alma-Ata, President Nazarbayev greatly appreciated the deputies' decision. He underlined that heads of states who had signed the CIS Charter should gather in the near future "to implement the ideas contained in the Charter."

Nazarbayev believes that today the major task is "to create a normal bank union of CIS states and to pursue a coordinated credit-emission policy to jointly raise the ruble's weight." If they fail to do this, "there is one way left for Kazakhstan, namely to introduce its own currency." Though it is "too dangerous", Nazarbayev emphasized.

Nazarbayev Meets Israeli Business Delegation

LD3103155093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1501 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Gennadiy Kulagin]

[Text] Alma-Ata March 31 TASS—Today President Nursultan Nazarbayev of Kazakhstan held discussions on a wide range of issues concerning the enhancement of bilateral trade and economic cooperation with a visiting delegation of Israeli business circles, headed by Shim'on Shetrit, minister of science and economics, Amnon Rubinstein—minister for power engineering and Ovadie Eli—vice chairman of the knesset (parliament).

They also considered specific construction and reconstruction projects of a number of facilities in the agricultural sector, and food and pharmaceutical industries of the republic, the Kazakh State Information Agency reported.

Delegation members informed Nazarbayev about the allocation of a huge specific purpose credit to Kazakhstan which has been approved by the knesset. This is the first time that the Israeli Parliament has provided such guarantees to any state.

Cooperation Protocols Signed

TA3103134593 Jerusalem Qol Yisra'el in Hebrew 1200 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Israel and Kazakhstan today signed in Alma-Ata protocols for cooperation in various economic spheres, but the signing of the agreements has been postponed because of a political argument. Our correspondent Arye Shaqed reports that the Kazakhs demanded to refrain from naming Jerusalem as the place where the bilateral committee should meet, because this would be construed to mean that Kazakhstan recognizes Jerusalem as Israel's capital. Our correspondent reports that except for this incident the Israeli economic delegation scored many achievements in the areas of business cooperation and investments. Israel will supply Kazakhstan with medicines and will help it build medicine factories and energy exploitation projects.

Kyrgyzstan

Akayev: CIS Ready To Defend Against Communist Comeback

OW3103141493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan thinks that "attempts of a communist comeback" are still possible, which "has been convincingly demonstrated by the latest Russian developments." He said this at a meeting with local and accredited journalists in the national TV studio.

Akayev emphasized that "certain forces have consolidated and are now poised for an attack on democratic reforms." If they succeed, then, he thinks, "they will do their utmost to restore a totalitarian communist regime."

The president said that if this happens in Russia, the leaders of CIS member states are prepared to defend the sovereignties of their countries.

Akayev said that he viewed Central Asia as an entity where all events are intertwined. "A conflict which breaks out anywhere in Central Asia will affect all countries of the region," he emphasized. He stressed the need to look for ways to preserve the integration of the countries in the region. He thinks that economic links and trade have the main role to play in maintaining the regional stability.

The president attaches great importance to the Ashgabat Central Asian summit scheduled for April 16 and 17 where documents on closer economic ties will be discussed and working bodies set up which will supervise implementation of multilateral and bilateral accords.

Akayev made it plain that he shared the view expressed by President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan that the common external borders of the region had to be strengthened and thought that a military and political alliance in the region was feasible.

President Receives Letter of Support From Clinton

OW3103142493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1352 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Report by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov and Igor Porshnev; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] President Askar Akayev of Kyrgyzstan has received a personal message from the U.S. President, in which Bill Clinton proclaimed firm support for the Kyrgyz people's efforts to carry out transition to democracy and market economy. Interfax's correspondent in Bishkek learned this from the president's press service.

According to the U.S. president, in the brief period of time since Kyrgyzstan gained independence, it has shown itself as one of the most far-sighted former Soviet republics. President Clinton is confident that Kyrgyzstan will be successful in the implementation of reforms, and therefore he intends to introduce an extensive program of aid to the republic.

At the request of President Akayev, American experts on privatization and advisers on farming will be sent to Kyrgyzstan in the near future for a long period of time. Besides, as the message says, Kyrgyzstan will soon be visited by a high-ranking representative of the White House, who is in charge of relations with the former Soviet republics.

Tajikistan

Further on Deaths of Popular Front Leaders

Rakhmonov Speaks at Saidov Funeral

LD3103141093 Dushanbe Radio Dushanbe Network in Tajik 1200 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] The funeral ceremony of Fayzali Saidov, commander of the Defense Ministry special brigade, was held today in Pakhtarskiy Rayon. Abdulmajid Dostiyev, chairman of the state commission for the burial ceremony and first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet, spoke at the funeral held on the Saidov state technical farm. He spoke about Saidov's life and work.

Supreme Soviet Chairman Imamali Rakhmonov could not control his tears while speaking to the gathering. He said that our people had suffered a great loss. It is not only a loss for the Tajik people, but for all the nationalities living in the republic. This (?tragic) death will not remove Fayzali's name from our memories.

Rakhmonov said that all this sorrow will unite the Tajik people. Khuvaydullayev, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Tajikistan; Boboyev, chairman of the Leninabad Oblast Executive Committee; and (?Mansurov), chairman of the executive of [name indistinct] Rayon participated in the funeral ceremony.

Deaths May 'Lead to More Bloodshed'

MK3103122693 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 3

[Igor Rotar commentary under general headline: "Sangak and Fayzali Killed. People's Front Beheaded. The Incident Will Lead to More Bloodshed"]

[Text] It can be said with confidence that the killing of Sangak Safarov and Fayzali Saidov has marked a new turn in the development of events in Tajikistan. In fact what has occurred was inevitable: After scoring a victory, the new rulers began vying for power among themselves. It was not hard to predict this sort of outcome: The criminal past of many "anti-Islamists" and the purely parochial interests which, as experience shows, can become "localized" even at the level of individual kishlaks [villages] have had their effect. It is noteworthy that soon after the victory of the People's Front angry rumors began to circulate in Kulyab to the effect that portfolios in the new power structures went for the most part to those who came from one particular rayon in that oblast.

What turn will events in the republic take in the future?

It is quite likely that well-armed supporters of the slain warlords will remember the law of vendetta and then fighting will erupt among the erstwhile victors.

On the other hand, Sangak Safarov was undoubtedly a charismatic leader of the new power, its symbol of sorts. The killing of a "living God" can cause dismay and provoke panic. Turmoil in the ranks of "anti-Islamists" plays into the hands of the opposition, driven into the mountains and across the other side of the Panj river, which has not come to terms with its defeat and is seeking revenge.

In the Orient the killing of leaders does not pass without a trace (let us recall at least how the assassination of general prosecutor Nurullo Khuvayduloyev destabilized the situation in the republic). In all likelihood, in the near future both the above scenarios will be translated into life (with some adjustments). Just what specific form it will take, the future will show. One can already state with certainty, however, that what has happened in Tajikistan will lead to more bloodshed.

Rumors of 'Disturbances' Dismissed

OW3103160793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1512 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Tajik government has issued a statement on the killing of Sangak Safarov, Popular Front leader, and Fayzali Saidov, an influential field commander in the southern town of Kurgan-Tyube, center of Khatlon Region. The Supreme Soviet presidium and the Council of Ministers describe Safarov and Saidov as "victims of murderous enemies of Tajikistan." The killing of "the nation's father and son" was part of "cowardly plans hatched by enemies of the Tajik nation who triggered the war on Tajik soil," the statement says.

In the name of "the cherished memory of the Tajik people's heroes" the Tajik leaders commit themselves to

"staying on the course they started and building a secular democratic state as soon as we can." Meanwhile, Saydamyr Zukhurov, National Security Committee Chairman, told INTERFAX that the country's leadership was "in full control" of Khatlon Region. He thinks it is too early to know the causes of the incident which culminated in a shoot-out between the two leaders. The investigation team which left for the scene of the incident has not reported its findings thus far.

The security chief dismissed rumors about disturbances in Kurgan-Tyube and the mobilization of Popular Front militia which allegedly started after the incident.

Zukhurov confirmed that representatives of the Tajik government will attend the funerals of the Popular Front leaders. Each of them will be buried in his home town, Safarov in Kulyab and Saidov in a Kurgan-Tyube village managed by a collective farm which is named after him and used to be named after Kuibyshev, a Russian communist figure of 1920s and 1930s.

IF [INTERFAX] Note: As of Tuesday [30 March] the Supreme Soviet Presidium decreed a state of emergency in Khatlon Region to prevent disturbances. Curfew has been imposed in Kalininabad and Kurgan-Tyube. The state of emergency will be enforced by Tajik defense ministry units and by Russia's 201st division stationed there.

Observers think that the killings may have serious political consequences. In particular, the relationships between armed supporters of the two leaders may take a turn for the worse. Also, the Kurgan-Tyube drama may contribute to the revival of the "Islamic" opposition.

Numerous observers suggest that with Safarov dead, the present leadership is likely to reshuffle top appointees. Safarov's opinion is known to be decisive on many occasions when ministerial portfolios were distributed or local officials appointed. In particular, Yakub Salimov, Interior Minister, was a close associate of the dead Popular Front leader.

Local observers also think that Safarov's demise may affect the return of refugees. He used to take an active part in negotiating the return with the refugees in Afghanistan whom he guaranteed security if they returned.

Foreign Minister Cited on Deaths

LD0104064893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0617 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[Text] Moscow, 1 Apr—Tajikistan Foreign Minister Rashid Olimov has not confirmed the version given by journalists that a dispute broke out between the republic's National Front leaders Sangak Safarov and Fayzali Saidov as a result of which they were both killed. "The world is full of rumors and only an investigation can give the true answer to what happened," he said in an interview by telephone to the ITAR-TASS correspondent. The minister stressed that "the socio-political situation in the republic has not changed for the worse."

Rashid Olimov recalled that in Khatlon Oblast emergency rule was been introduced, and in the towns of Kurgan-Tyube, Kalininabad, and Kulyab a curfew was in force from 2200-0500 [1700-0000 GMT]. In the minister's words, "for the purpose of preventing movements of illegal military formations and transportation of weapons" checkpoints have been set up in the oblast.

Concerning Russo-Tajik relations, Rashid Olimov voiced the hope that in April a bilateral agreement would be signed between Russia and Tajikistan. "To date there are no obstacles to signing this agreement," he stressed. Tajikistan, the minister concluded, in foreign policy gives priority to links with Russia.

Government Forces Take 'Full Control'

LD0104125493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1159 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Dushanbe April 1 TASS—Tajik Government forces took under full control the situation in the Khatlon region of the Central Asian republic where provocations were expected after two leaders of the Tajik Popular Front were found dead there.

The situation in the region where a state of emergency and a curfew were introduced on Wednesday [31 March] remains stable, Aleksandr Shishlyannikov, the defence minister, told TASS on Thursday.

The minister refused to disclose the reasons of the death of the leader of the Popular Front, Sangak Safarov, and his comrade-in-arms Fayzali Saidov, saying only that the press was "as always overhasty with conclusions". He added that the case is being investigated.

Shishlyannikov denied wide-spread rumours that opposition forces have become active of late in the Pamir Mountains, but confirmed that small groups of the opposition exist there. However, they do not fight with the governmental troops as they understand the "futility and insanity" of such actions, the defence minister said.

The situation in the Tajik capital of Dushanbe is stable, according to the National Security Committee.

Uzbekistan

Malaysian Prime Minister Arrives on Official Visit

LD3103084693 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0805 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Alfred Baranov]

[Text] Tashkent, 31 Mar—Malaysian Prime Minister Dr. Mahathir Mohamed arrived in Uzbekistan's capital

today on an official friendly visit. He has been invited by the republic's President Islam Karimov.

The program for the three-day visit includes getting acquainted with the republic and attending meetings with political figures and represenatives of business circles. Talks will be held with Uzbekistan's leaders, and the signing of documents on the development of mutually advantageous cooperation between the two countries in various spheres of the economy and social life is planned.

Discusses Ties, Trade With Karimov

BK0104100993 Kuala Lumpur Voice of Malaysia in English 0800 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Prime Minister Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir Mohamed has called for a global consolidation in the next century which could be achieved through consensus and consent. This is important as global fragmentation brings only danger to the planet.

Speaking at a dinner hosted in his honor by Uzbekistan President Islam Karimov in Tashkent last night, the prime minister said the national and international challenge at the turn of the 20th century was largely to harmonize global, regional, and national structural changes. In this regard, Malaysia has supported the United Nations at every turn. This is because it believes that the UN system provided appropriate mechanisms for creating a more equitable world. It is also vital for all countries to act in concert to ensure that it would serve this purpose.

Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir said while Malaysia welcomes unity in the community of nations in the political arena in the immediate past, making possible settlement of several long-standing conflicts, Malaysia could not but be disturbed at recent apparent failure of resolve at coping with new conflicts no less deserving of international attention, as represented by the tragedy in Bosnia Hercegovina. At no time had the world witnessed such blatant violations of human rights and yet failed to extend meaningful help.

In the economic sphere, the prime minister said the world saw the same disturbing failure of resolve at coping with the challenge of a more open global trading system beneficial for all. Malaysia is very concerned about this because although it is a relatively small country, it is, nevertheless, a substantial trading nation.

On relations between Uzbekistan and Malaysia, Datuk Sri Dr. Mahathir, now on a three-day official visit, said Malaysia is committed to strengthening economic and trade relations with the country on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. He said important leaders of the Malaysian business community, whom he had brought along with him, would work to develop trade and investment cooperation with the business community.

News Agency Warns of Danger of Return to USSR

LD3003151193 Tashkent UZBEKISTAN APN in Russian 1100 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] The Uzbek National News Agency, which reflects the opinion of Uzbekistan's government circles, circulated a commentary today entitled "Danger: USSR." The author of the commentary asks why and to whom is it necessary to revive the former empire. The political barometer at the seventh, eighth, and now the ninth extraordinary Congress of the People's Deputies of Russia indicated improved weather conditions for the communists.

The PRAVDA newspaper is at the forefront of the fighters for socialism, in other words, for the empire. "You don't have to be a politician to discern the revanchist forces behind this who want to be avenged on the heads of the former Union republics that have become independent states. No matter how they might adorn themselves in the toga of democracy, they cannot hide their nostalgia for the power of "big brother," nor the advantage they stand to gain from the restoration of such power," the commentary asserts.

It quotes the words of Uzbekistan's President Islam Karimov that the bridges have been burned preventing not an abstract but a real return to the past.

Armenia

Azerbaijan Said 'Trying To Cut Off' Lachin Corridor

NC3103175393 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 1530 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] KARABAKH NEWS AGENCY cites self-defense forces headquarters as reporting that following massive rocket and artillery shelling of Lachin humanitarian corridor on 30 March, armed Azerbaijani formations, supported by tanks and military helicopters, launched an offensive from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon with the aim of cutting off the only road linking Karabakh to the outside world. The Nagorno-Karabakh self-defense detachments halted the enemy's attack by the evening. However, the humanitarian corridor is coming under invasive shelling from Azerbaijani Grad launchers and long-range artillery. Travel along the road is not without danger.

The Azerbaijani Army has been attempting to launch a two-pronged offensive from the direction of Kelbadzharskiy and Mir-Bashirskiy Rayons for the last few days. It tried to cut off Mardakertskiy Rayon from the rest of Nagorno-Karabakh.

The Nagorno-Karabakh self-defense forces halted such attempts by the Azerbaijani Army on 30 March and the previous days, and repulsed the enemy's attacks toward Mokhratag-Nerkin-Oratag-Gyulyatag front and toward the border settlements on the western sector of Mardakertskiy Rayon. Both sides have suffered losses. One Azerbaijani tank and one personnel carrier were hit.

However, a number of Azerbaijani detachments managed to penetrate Mardakertskiy Rayon. As of 31 March, most of these detachments were thrown out of the western borders of Mardakertskiy Rayon. A number of Karabakh self-defense forces subunits pursued the retreating enemy to its military base, that is, almost up to (Tetrevakaya) and (Akhdakent).

The settlements on the western borders of Mardakertskiy Rayon have been coming under massive artillery shelling from Kelbadzharskiy Rayon since this morning. The Armenian freedom fighters had no choice but to open retaliatory fire.

Gadrut and (Dudukchi) in Gadrutskiy Rayon came under rocket and artillery shelling from Azerbaijan's Fizulinskiy Rayon at 2300 on 30 March. Three citizens were killed and another injured.

Armenian Defense Ministry press service reported that the Azerbaijani Army has sharply activated the military operations against Armenia's border regions. Almost all the border settlements of Armenia were shelled with long-range artillery yesterday. Material damage and injuries resulted.

The [word indistinct] in Vardenisskiy Rayon was subjected to particularly massive shelling. An Azerbaijani detachment violated Armenia's border in this rayon and tried to advance into the rayon yesterday. However, the Armenian border guards threw the enemy out of the rayon.

The Azerbaijani Army is continuing its large scale attack on the north of Lachin humanitarian corridor. The enemy is using tanks, artillery and helicopters. The Karabakh self-defense forces are putting up fierce resistance. Both sides have suffered losses.

It is obvious that the Azerbaijani authorities are trying to cut off the only road linking Nagorno-Karabakh Republic with the outside world.

Ter-Petrosyan Urges West To Assist CIS More Actively

OW3003154293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1454 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Report prepared by Andrey Pershin, Andrey Petrovskiy, and Vladimir Shishlin; edited by Boris Grishchenko; from the "Presidential Bulletin" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan told Baroness Caroline Cox, the Vice-Speaker of the British parliament's House of Lords, that the West should assist the democratic and economic reforms in the CIS more actively. (Baroness Cox and representatives of the Christian Solidarity international organization have brought another lot of humanitarian aid to Nagorno Karabakh - IF [INTERFAX]).

The Armenian president believes that the international community should be aware of its responsibility for the settlement of the Karabakh problem, for the attainment of a stable armistice and for the provision of reliable international guarantees of the Karabakh population's security.

Foreign Ministry Official Reports on Visit to India

OW2903150293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1405 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Report prepared by diplomatic correspondents Andrey Borodin, Dmitriy Voskoboynikov, Igor Porshnev, and others; from the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] India is quite interested in promoting relations with Armenia, its Deputy Foreign Minister Arman Navasardyan told Interfax. Last week he paid an official visit to Delhi. It has been agreed, he said, that in the current year President Levon Ter-Petrosyan will go to India for an official visit.

As a result of negotiations held by Navasardyan, the two countries signed an agreement on conducting consultations, including those in the framework of the U.N. and the Non-Aligned Movement. In the latter organization Armenia has the status of observer.

India expressed willingness to fund the training of diplomats for Armenia. According to Navasardyan, the two sides held serious discussions on the ways to promote and deepen trade and economic relations.

India, he said, displayed great interest in cooperation in fundamental sciences: astronomy, astrophysics, nuclear physics, chemistry. It had drafted a treaty on scientific and technical cooperation, which was discussed during his visit.

He intends to ask his government to award the title of honorary consul to businessman Ovsep Sefesian, an ethnic Armenian who lives in India, Navasardyan said in conclusion.

Enterprise Leader Discusses Gas Shortage

OW3103212993 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1608 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] As before Armenia is experiencing a lack of gas. There is no information about the delivered amount of gas, but according to unofficial sources in Yerevan, the republic daily receives three times less gas than it needs.

In his interview with Interfax Roland Adonts, the deputy leader of the enterprise Armgaztoplivo, declared that Georgia takes some of the gas intended for Armenia because the gas main is laid via its territory. At the same time Adonts believes that somebody else "is keeping" gas along with Georgia. In particular, Turkmenistan prefers not to supply the planned volume of fuel to Transcaucasia in order to maintain the volume of deliveries destined to Russia and Ukraine, which partially pay in currency.

In addition, Adonts rejected rumors that the reduction of gas deliverers to Armenia is caused by a debt from already received fuel. "We pay for gas at 60% of world prices." he reported.

According to Adonts, there is no hope that in the near future Azerbaijan will lift the blockade of its neighboring republic (the second gas main leading to Armenia is laid via Azerbaijan's territory).

Meanwhile, liquid fuel, in particular, black oil, is not delivered to Armenia from Georgia's Marneul region due to an explosion of a rail way bridge on March 23. The construction of a temporary bridge is to be completed by April 8. According to preliminary data, repair works on the main bridge will last not less than two months.

Azerbaijan

Armenians Said Creating Second Corridor to Karabakh

NC3103135293 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1128 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, 31 Mar (AZERTAC)—A large-scale offensive launched by the Armenian Armed Forces in the past five days has cut off almost 30 settlements in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon and the area north of Lachinskiy Rayon from the rest of Azerbaijan.

The Azerbaijani Defense Ministry press service says tens of thousands of people are besieged and there is no likelihood of their being evacuated. Armenian Army units, reportedly supported by tanks and anti-infantry vehicles, are advancing toward Kelbadzhar without encountering any serious resistance. They are now 16 km from the city.

Independent observers say the objective behind the Armenian Army offensive on Kelbadzharskiy is to open another corridor from the neighboring republic to reinforce its expeditionary corps in Nagorno-Karabakh.

Official Appeals to Ambassadors

NC3103163293 Baku TURAN in English 1456 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Baku 31 March (TURAN)—State Adviser of the President of Azerbaijan by External Policy Vafa Guluzade informed today ambassadors of Iran, Russia, Turkey, the USA and representative of general secretary of the UN in Azerbaijan of critical situation, taken place in the region of Kelbadzharskiy of the Republic, provoked by the continued attack of the Armed Forces of Armenia.

Guluzade asked the ambassadors to pass urgently the heads of their states information on situation in the region and to undertake measures aimly to curb the aggressor.

Guluzade marked that advanced sub-units of the Armenian Army were to 11 o'clock in the morning on March 31 from 16 kilometres of the regional centre of Kelbadzhar. 16 villages of the region are captured at present. Simultaneously about 30 villages of neighbouring region of Lachinskiy of Azerbaijan are taken into encirclement. So, 60,000 people are turned to be cut off from outer world. Constant shellings does not let take peaceful citizens out of the fire.

State adviser marked that "events in Kelbadzharskiy may lead to the tragedy which excels by its scales the tragedy in Khodzhaly".

Rayon Surrounded; Evacuation Ordered

NC3103183393 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1713 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, 31 Mar, (AZERTAC)—The Armenian Armed Forces have completely surrounded Kelbadzharskiy Rayon and the rayon center. A number of civilian helicopters have left for Kelbadzhar. The Azerbaijani Airlines Concern has informed an AZERTAC correspondent that the helicopters have been instructed to assist in evacuating the population.

Informed sources report that the Defense Council session being held under President Abulfaz Elchibey is discussing the situation in the border rayon.

President Cited on Situation

LD0104061793 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0525 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By AZERTAC correspondents Gekchekkhanum Tagiyeva and Natig Abdullayev for TASS]

[Text] Baku, 1 Apr—The leadership of the Republic of Azerbaijan has assessed the continuing offensive by subdivisions of the Armenian Armed Forces into Kelbadzharskiy rayon on the Azerbaijan-Armenian frontier as "a qualitatively new stage in the intensive occupation of the territory of Azerbaijan located outside the bounds of Karabakh." This was said in a statement from the press service of the Azerbaijan president circulated by AZERTAC channels on the evening of 31 March.

The leadership of Azerbaijan called upon the heads of state, of the governments and parliaments of the countries of the world, the UN, the CSCE, and other influential international organizations "to condemn resolutely and in a principle-based manner the aggressive actions of Armenia."

Kelbadzhar (Azerbaijan), 31 Mar—The crews of helicopters from the state "Azerbayjanskiye avialinii" concern which have arrived in this rayon center of Azerbaijan situated in the frontier area have set about evacuating the civilian population of Kelbadzhar. Fighting is going on approximately 4-5 kilometers away.

More on Evacuation

LD0104101093 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0756 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By AZERTAG correspondent for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Kelbadzhar (Azerbaijan), 1 Apr—The situation in Kelbadzharskiy Rayon of Azerbaijan, where about 30 villages have found themselves blockaded by advancing Armenian forces, deteriorated sharply today. For the second day the town is being subjected to intensive bombardment by Grad launchers deployed in neighboring Vardenisskiy Rayon of Armenia. Fires have started and many buildings have been destroyed.

In these circumstances the only way to rescue civilians is to move them by helicopter. Since early morning helicopter pilots have made about 10 trips to evacuate, first and foremost, children, women and the elderly. The pilots have to cope with extremely difficult conditions, since the Armenian formations are subjecting helicopter landing pads to especially intensive fire, thereby hindering the evacuation.

Situation 'Critical'; 'Great Number' Dead

NC0104084993 Baku TURAN in English 0824 GMT 1 Apr 93

["Kelbadzharskiy - Situation Is Critical"—TURAN headline]

[Text] Baku 1 April (TURAN)—Strict battles in the region of Kelbadzharskiy of Azerbaijan went on within last night and this morning. As the Ministry of Defence of the Republic informs? Armenian sub-units advanced by more than ten kilometres. Now they are outskirts of the regional centre. The attack on Kelbadzhar is realized as earlier from the side of Armenia as well as from the side of Nagorno-Karabakh. Distance between advanced sub-units of the enemy, attacked from the west and from the east, reaches 5-6 kilometres.

The town is on fire but for unceasing shellings. The shell is carried on from the side of the region of Vardeniskiy of Armenia. Simultaneously Kelbadzhar is subjected to bombardment of the air forces of Armenia.

There is a great number of died men, which is impossible to fix, in the regional centre itself. Peaceful population is failed to be taken out but for unceasing fire. Many citizens flee to surrounding forests.

Evacuation Suspended; 'Thousands' Flee

LD0104104993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0855 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By AZERTAG correspondent for ITAR-TASS]

[Text] Kelbadzhar (Azerbaijan) 1 Apr—Helicopter flights, by which women, children, and the elderly are being evacuated from the town of Kelbadzhar, had to be suspended around noon today because the helicopter landing pad is coming under constant fire from Grad rocket launchers deployed in the neighboring Vardenisskiy Rayon of Armenia. According to unconfirmed reports, one helicopter has been knocked out of action.

Natik Abdullayev, an AZERTAG correspondent, reporting by telephone from the area where the fighting is taking place, says that residents of Kelbadzhar have been forced to flee their homes.

"Thousands of people are now moving along mountain tracks, fleeing from the advancing aggressor," he says in his report. "The fate of the 15,000 people living in the 30

villages of Kelbadzharskiy Rayon and the five villages of Lachinskiy Rayon, which are surrounded, is completely unknown."

According to Abdullayev, Armenian formations have seized the frontier posts of Karakaya and Ellidzha.

Embassy in U.S. Contacts State Department

NC0104131293 Baku TURAN in English 1220 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Baku April 1 (TURAN)—Advisers of the Embassy of the Azerbaijani Republic in Washington Dzheyhun Mollazade passed on March 31 a letter to the State Department for State Secretary Warren Christopher in connection with continued attacks of Armed Forces of Armenia on the region of Kelbadzharskiy of Azerbaijan. The letter contains information on dangerous development of events in the region of Kelbadzharskiy in the result of continued aggression of Armenia against Azerbaijan.

President's Office Issues Statement

NC0104132293 Baku TURAN in English 1220 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Baku April 1 (TURAN)—Press-service of the president of Azerbaijan spread the statement in connection with events in the region of Kelbadzharskiy of Azerbaijan. It is spoken in the document that attack of the Armed Forces of Armenia on the region of Kelbadzharskiy of Azerbaijan continues to be developed.

Sub-units of the Armenian Army occupied tens villages and advanced already closely to the regional centre of Kelbadzhar.

Dozens of peaceful citizens are killed and several dozens are taken hostages. About 30 villages of the region of Kelbadzharskiy and the whole northern part of the region of Lachinskiy are cut off of the rest part of Azerbaijan.

This military action of Armenia, notes in the statement, comes out away from attempts of its leadership to wreck negotiations by peaceful regulation of the Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict. So, Armenia for the next time demonstrates that territorial expansionism, a frank ignoring of the conventional norms of international rights and principles of respect and sovereignty and state integrity lie on the base of the conflict.

Anti-Azerbaijani policy of Armenia comes out to the new stage of the intensive occupation of the territories of Azerbaijan, situated outside Karabakh. It is promoted by the international association represented by the UN and CSCE which have a great power but did not yet undertake measures on identification of aggressor in the Armenia-Azerbaijani war and deterrent of its policy.

Taking into consideration that the present situation can lead to a wildscale [as received] tragedy and a great number of victims among peaceful population, the leadership of Azerbaijan appeals to heads of states, governments and parliaments of the world, the UN, CSCE, OIC [Islamic Conference Organization] and another influent international organizations blame aggressive actions of Armenia—is said in the statement of the press-service.

Karabakh Units Surround 'Major' Force Near Lachin

LD0104125593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1140 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By ARMENPRESS correspondent Boris Kyufaryan]

[Text] Yerevan April 1 TASS—Karabakh self-defence units surrounded a major Azeri force near the Lachin corridor connecting Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia late on Wednesday [31 March]. Many Azeri soldiers were taken prisoner, the rest were allowed to retreat through a special corridor, according to self-defence forces of Karabakh.

The operation was o'kayed to stop the incessant attempts of the Azeri Army to establish contre[1] over the Lachin corridor. Azeri forces received reinforcements, tanks and helicopters from Kelbajar region and had been attacking the corridor for three days running.

Azeri forces continued to shell Karabakh units in the Lachin corridor on Thursday. Fighting also is going on in Kelbajar region.

Elchibey Says Opposition 'Misinterprets' Situation

LD0104132493 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1121 GMT 1 Apr 93

[By AZERTAC correspondents]

[Text] Baku April 1 TASS—Opposition in Azerbaijan misinterprets the situation in the republic and lays emphasis only on negative aspects of developments, according to President Abulfaz Elchibey who addressed the nation on Thursday [1 April] after a meeting of the Defence Council which discussed the situation in Kelbadzhar region occupied by Armenian forces.

Elchibey said the country is advancing along the path of democratic transformations and the statements of the opposition about a deepening crisis in the republic are biased and do not correspond to reality.

He also denied claims that Azerbaijan views Turkey as a "new older brother"—a methaphore which meant Russian dominance in the former Soviet Union. The president said that relations with Turkey are based on a natural desire to cooperate. Azerbaijan intends to preserve and develop its relations also with Russia which Elchibey said are "rather favourable".

The president is ready to raise the issue of early parliamentary elections, as demanded by the opposition,

although he believes that the holding of elections is "very problematic" in the current situation.

He confirmed his adherence to democracy, but warned that tough measures will be taken against those forces which "undermine the basis of Azerbaijani statehood".

Elchibey refused to sack Interior Minister Iskender Khamidov who had publicly insulted leaders of the opposition and journalists. The president said the dismissal may trigger new tensions and blamed the press for insulting articles about state and public figures.

Interior Minister Khamidov 'Ready To Resign'

OW3103114693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1028 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Azerbaijani Interior Minister Iskender Khamidov told the parliament on Tuesday [30 March] that he was ready to resign.

Earlier criticized for thoughtless statements and rudeness, Khamidov has stated his readiness to resign on many occasions but never resigned.

The Azerbaijani president's press service informed INTERFAX that Elchibey's reaction to Khamidov's statement is not known yet. A representative of the press service said that on Wednesday night Elchibey is expected to speak on TV. Among the questions he is likely to raise is the work of the interior minister.

Opposition Reacts to Minister's Attack on Journalist

PM0103101593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Sokhbet Mamedov: "Drastic Aggravation of Situation in Azerbaijan. Early Parliamentary Elections Possible"]

[Text] Baku—The latest escapade of the Azerbaijan internal affairs minister—beating up the editor of an opposition newspaper and offensive attacks on the opposition during his 27 March television speech—have given rise to a storm of anger in society. The actions of the minister called on to defend law and order have essentially become the catalyst to the intensification of tension in Azerbaijan.

The newly formed assembly of the trade union of mass media workers was the first to raise its voice in protest. A decision of the meeting it convened was the demand that the president act as the guarantor of the fulfillment of the relevant articles of the law on the mass media and of the criminal liability of those who perpetrated acts of violence against journalists. The assembly statement published by almost all publications notes that "if the republic's leadership fails to give the appropriate assessment of what has happened in the republic, the mass media will begin a protest strike 31 March."

This time the incidents of the violation of journalists' professional and civil rights, which have become more frequent in the republic, seems to have touched even those who are in the corridors of state power. Information has percolated to the press that some staffers of the Azerbaijan president's apparatus submitted their resignation after the incident. That has been done by the republic's secretary of state Panakh Guseynov, who believes that the internal affairs minister's actions contradict not only legal norms but also the official political of Azerbaijan, which has embarked on the path of building a democratic state. And the leader of the republic president's press service, Arif Aliyev, told journalists at a briefing that his further work in the apparatus will depend on what the president's reaction is to what has happened.

The majority of the republic's political parties have also sharply denounced the actions of Police Lieutenant General I. Gamidov.

Late on the evening of 30 March Etibar Mamedov, chairman of the Azerbaijan National Independence Party, spoke on republican television, stating that the protest meeting the party had planned for 1200 hours on 31 March was being deferred. The leader of the Azerbaijan National Independence Party announced that this decision was taken after meeting with the republic's president.

During the talk with the head of state agreement was reached on fulfilling the party's main demands. This night-time speech by the leader of what is perhaps the most influential opposition party somewhat lifted the tension which had been mounting during the day. The seriousness of the situation was also borne out by the fact that the republic's parliament devoted an entire day to debating the demands of the Azerbaijan National Independence Party. The session of the National Assembly ended with the decision to listen to the Azerbaijan president's report on the situation in the republic and to include in the agenda a discussion of the draft law on holding elections to the republic's parliament and with a denunciation of the internal affairs ministers' actions.

It is expected that in his forthcoming television speech President Abulfaz Elchibey will assess the situation which has taken shape in the republic in recent days. The president will announce the holding of early parliamentary elections this September.

Officials Give News Conference on Ganja Situation

All Problems 'Settled'

NC2703181393 Baku TURAN in English 1359 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Baku, March 27 (TURAN)—Today State Secretary Panakh Guseynov held the press-conference concerning the situation in Ganja.

According to the state secretary the main reason of the tension in Ganja was the release of Suret Guseynov from his post as a commander of the Second Corps of Azerbaijan Army, that displeased a part of service-men. Nevertheless at present all the problems disturbing the soldiers and officers are settled. Guseynov confirmed his loyalty to authority and started his work as a director of a large enterprise.

Answering TURAN agency question about the influence of the events in Ganja upon the fighting efficiency of the national Army, the state secretary said that such influence is not possible.

As TURAN agency was informed by the source in staff of the president of the Republic the conflict in Ganja was stopped after Suret Guseynov and his party were given firm security guarantees from the Minister of Internal Affairs Iskender Khamidov. The same source informed that since this morning Guseynov and his supporters left the territory of the Army unit where they were during the last week and began to return arms.

As it was reported the former Commander of the Second Corps Suret Guseynov was accused by the Peoples Front of Azerbaijan leaders of the preparation of coup detat and deliberate surrender of many positions on the north of Karabakh to Armenians.

According to the information from Ganja the situation in city is usual, all enterprises and organizations function well.

No 'Rebellion' in Ganja

NC3003152793 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Media reports of a rebellion by several of our military units in Ganja are unfounded. The situation there is peaceful. Arif Aliyev, head of the presidential press service, has briefed journalists on it. Aliyev said similar incidents should be viewed as something normal when the control mechanism has only just been put into effect in our independent state, which is still being established. He asserted: Regrettably, some forces have tried to exploit the situation.

Aliyev said he regretted the Turkish Radio and Television network carrying a similar report. He said it was not the first time Turkish media carried reports that [word indistinct] the internal situation in Azerbaijan and harmed our republic's international esteem. Aliyev said: The main objective is to harm relations between the two friendly countries, which support each other politically. Considering [words indistinct]. But we don't confuse [word indistinct] with state politics. Such behavior makes us uneasy. And government officials in Turkey must also feel serious anxiety.

Arif Aliyev said the republic's leaders have been worried by a recent increase in the transfer of arms from Russia to Azerbaijan's northern rayons, where the Lezghins live. He said the Azerbaijani Defense Ministry has conveyed a political note to the Russian Foreign Ministry on the covert activities of the Lezghin Sedva Association [title as heard].

Recalling that Russian media published an unfounded report attributed to the fallacious Nagorno-Karabakh news agencies on the eve of Armenia's attack on Kelbadzhar, saying that the Azerbaijani National Army is expected to launch a strong attack on Armenia from Kelbadzhar, Arif Aliyev said the report conflicted with a promise by Russia's leaders to respect Azerbaijan's territorial integrity and not interfere in our republic's internal affairs. Azerbaijan will protest to Russia.

The journalists were also briefed on work carried out to effect changes in [words indistinct] and the criminal code and on issues relating to traffic rules, [words indistinct], and the bills drawn up by the presidential body for considering citizens' complaints. Aliyev touched on other important incidents during the past week, stressing that he opposed incidents on a program broadcast by the republic's television network and in the newspaper ISTIGLAL's editorial office.

Further Comment by State Secretary

NC3103120593 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1900 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] State Secretary Panakh Guseynov said in a briefing held after his return from Ganja on 29 March that [words indistinct] did not occur in Ganja and that the mass media remained [words indistinct] after Colonel Suret Guseynov established an illegal armed group. Guseynov also criticized journalists for circulating unfounded reports [words indistinct]. Guseynov said certain forces provoked Guseynov to resist.

The journalists were informed that Guseynov has said he is loyal to President Elchibey. The illegal armed group headed by Guseynov will be sent to the battlefront.

Guseynov assured journalists that the incident in Ganja has not had any negative effect on the situation in Karabakh. Guseynov also said he held talks with the commanders of the Russian military units in Ganja and observed that they have organized their defense areas. He stressed that additional information will be made available in connection with [words indistinct]

Chairman Kamber, Spanish Ambassador Discuss Cooperation

NC2903212193 Baku Radio Baku Network in Azeri 1700 GMT 29 Mar 93

[Text] Isa Kamber, chairman of the Azerbaijan Supreme Soviet, has received the Spanish ambassador in Moscow. Kamber briefed his guest on the sociopolitical situation and on reforms in our republic. He said: Azerbaijan is prepared to establish friendly and businesslike relations with every country, including Spain. An opportunity exists to improve cooperation between our countries in various fields.

The ambassador thanked Kamber for his warm welcome and said the two countries have much in common that may bring them closer.

Kamber and his guest also considered the possibility of Spain opening an embassy in Azerbaijan.

Georgia

Shevardnadze Warns of 'Explosion' in Russia

PM3103180193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 93 First Edition pp 1,2

[Interview with Eduard Shevardnadze, Georgian head of state, by ITAR-TASS correspondents Igor Gvritishvili and Albert Kochetkov, "specially for IZVESTIYA," place and date not given: "Eduard Shevardnadze: If There Is an Explosion in Russia the Fallout Will Hit Other Countries Too"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] The political crisis in Russia has caused serious concern in social and political circles in Georgia. In an exclusive interview Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the parliament and head of state, gave your ITAR-TASS correspondents his assessment of the results of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of Russian People's Deputies, shared his thoughts on the prospects for Georgian-Russian relations, and described the situation in the republic's conflict zones.

[IZVESTIYA] What is your assessment and forecast regarding events in Russia in the light of the results of the Ninth Extraordinary Congress of People's Deputies?

[Shevardnadze] Imperial systems do not collapse overnight. This is a long and agonizing process. In my opinion, what is happening in Russia and in Moscow right now is the beginning of a new stage of that process: The totalitarian system, having lost power, is fighting back. Reaction has consolidated and won yesterday's "democrats" and new power seekers into its ranks. Temporary retreats and setbacks are giving way to new attacks, and the world is in a ferment along with Russia.

The political crisis caused by the actions of the right benefits the right. As always in such instances the right cares little for the salvation of Russia—this is a battle for power. Even the threat of chaos and anarchy and, as a consequence, civil war does not stop the red-brown revanchism. If there is an explosion in Russia the fallout will hit other countries too. Georgia will not be spared.

In the past few days I have had intensive consultations with colleagues from Western and neighboring countries. On the basis of this exchange of opinions and expert studies I came to the conclusion that I must support President Yeltsin's platform. Its implementation today is the only way of extricating Russia from the crisis. Anything else will mean a return to the past. Yeltsin has made a number of compromise moves but in the main, where compromise is impossible, he has stood firm. His opponents have been trying to undermine the foundations of power with ever-increasing persistence. It is hard to predict the outcome of events. A serious analysis of the reasons, character, and level of the political confrontation in Russia shows that any peacemaking decision is accompanied by attempts to torpedo it. The main thing now is that reaction has not won. However, anything could still happen if Yeltsin does not consolidate his positions. Naturally I very much want the Russian President to succeed in this, so that the political heat subsides and the squabbling—both sides have been extremely guilty of that—gives way to normal dialogue.

I do not tire of telling my foreign colleagues about the need for collective international support for Russia and for Yeltsin. However, they do not need special persuasion. The whole world has an interest in stabilization in Russia.

[IZVESTIYA] How do you see the prospects for Georgian-Russian relations, and what must the two sides do for mutually beneficial cooperation?

[Shevardnadze] The asphyxiation of power in Russia is stifling us too. As soon as the situation in Moscow became more acute the bombs and rockets rained down on Sukhumi too. They were brought by planes bearing Russian Air Force identification markings. Russian assault forces broke through the Gumista front. That was preceded by the well-known demarches and statements from Russia's top military-political leadership. All these things gave me every reason for stating that the conflict in Abkhazia was assuming the character of a Russo-Georgian conflict. I can clearly see what such a war would mean for little Georgia, especially in its present state. It needs peace like it needs air. The key to that lies in Russia's hands.

Since the failure of the 16-18 March adventure in Sukhumi, since the material evidence of direct Russian military interference in Georgia's internal affairs—I have in mind the Su-27 shot down near Sukhumi—and some other facts were announced in advance, as it were, and since Georgia adopted an unambiguously clear stance toward the processes unfolding in Russia, it has become possible to speak of the emergence of more favorable conditions for steering the negotiating process of Georgian-Russian relations into a more normal course.

As I have learned, preparation has begun in Russia for a top-level meeting between the president of the Russian Federation and the head of state of the Republic of Georgia. The Georgian parliament has instructed its chairman to hold talks with the Russian president on all questions of mutual interest. I think that the most favorable conditions for holding this meeting have now emerged.

I am aware that events may develop differently. We must be ready for anything. Whether some people like it or

not, Georgia's fate is such that its prosperity or otherwise depends largely on its neighbors, especially such a neighbor as Russia.

[IZVESTIYA] Describe the political and economic situation in Georgia for us, please, and tell us what needs to be done to settle and stabilize the situation in the conflict zones?

[Shevardnadze] The situation is so bad that no description, however unflattering, can seem excessive. The continuing slump in production, the inoperative sectors of industry and agriculture, the dire consequences of the economic blockades, the impossibility of attracting extensive Western investments—because of the political troubles—have been aggravated by the recent serious upheaval in the financial sphere.

We remained in the ruble zone and declared our readiness to honor all the commitments arising from the corresponding agreement, and we did so. Nevertheless, we were refused a money supply on the stipulated technical credit terms. They loan us cash rubles like a state credit. In our position this is just one more problem. That is why we have been forced to issue coupons.

Now for the conflicts. I was and remain a supporter of political methods of settling them. That includes the conflict in Abkhazia. There is a normative basis for this—the final document of the Moscow meeting on 3 September 1992. It would be good if Russia also observed its provisions. But in any event it is best if the Georgians and Abkhazians resolve this question. It is time to realize that our interests coincide here.

This also applies to the conflict in Tskhinvali. I am ready to come to the negotiating table at any time. Only people should not put forward conditions that they know are impossible and try to drive us into a corner. You can only get out of a corner by force, and that bodes no good either for us or for those people who are trying to drive us into that corner.

We are actively cooperating with the United Nations and the CSCE in this regard. But I have already said that the key to peace lies in Russia's hands. If it is in good hands there will be peace. The problem, however, is that there are different rules in Russia, and people who are ready to deprive it of peace.

Army Reportedly Harassing Russian Residents

LD0104103593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0500 GMT 1 Apr 93

[From the "Novosti" newcast]

[Text] According to operational information, the opposing sides in Abkhazia have again stepped up hostilities, but now on the Tkvarchal-Ochamchira sector of the front. Over the last 24 hours, Georgian troops have been bombarding villages in Ochamchirskiy Rayon with artillery, and with the arrival of daylight, reported the commander of the eastern front, Georgian troops went into the offensive. Near the settlements of Labra and Merkula, the attack was repelled with Abkhaz formations retaining their positions. On the Gumista front, there is a certain lull.

After the recent battles near Sukhumi, the sides are engaged in repairing and fortifying defense lines along the Gumista River. In the town of Sukhumi itself, where there is no water, gas or electricity, anti-Russian feelings have recently increased sharply, eyewitnesses testify.

Under the pretext of searching for spies and weapons, soldiers of the Georgian Army unceremoniously burst into houses, carrying out attacks and robberies. The Russian-speaking population are having their passports taken away and are being registered with the military commandant's office of the town of Sukhumi. Many are being forcibly evicted from their apartments.

At the same time, those who wish to leave the town are not being given the opportunity to do so. The non-Georgian population of Sukhumi is, in practice, being held hostage by the military authorities.

Servicemen Seize Russian Military Apartments

LD3103173893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1626 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents]

[Text] Tbilisi March 31 TASS—A Russian employee of a military hospital in Tbilisi was heavily wounded when she refused to let a group of armed Georgian servicemen into her apartment. The Georgians opened submachine gun fire.

The command of the Russian troops in Transcaucasia informed on Wednesday the Russian embassy in Georgia and Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze that armed attacks in order to seize apartments of Russian officers in Tbilisi have sharply increased of late.

Over a hundred apartments belonging to officers of the Tbilisi garrison have been illegally seized of late, Colonel Aleksandr Goshkis, head of the Housing Service of the garrison, told TASS.

Only one flat was returned after Georgian Defence Minister Tengiz Kitovani interfered himself, he added.

On Tuesday, 12 armed Georgian servicemen under the command of Major Nugzar Metreveli seized the apartment of Anatoliy Dergilyov, a Russian officer and editor of the "TRANSCAUCASIAN MILITARY NEWS" newspaper, according to Goshkis.

Concern Over Russian Food Convoy to Soldiers at Eshera

LD3003155893 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1331 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Text] Yesterday, in the region of Eshera, a column of motor vehicles moved on to the territory of the military laboratory. In connection with this the command of the Georgian troops contacted the Russian side, which stated that the arrival of the column was to supply food and fuel to the military unit.

The Georgian Armed Forces Command warned the Russian side that in the event of provocation the Georgian Armed Forces would take decisive measures and the entire responsibility for possible consequences would be laid on the servicemen of the Russian side.

Russian Seismic Laboratory in Abkhazia Shelled Again

LD3003133893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1245 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] MoscowßukhumiMarch 30 TASS—The former seismic laboratory of the Russian Defence Ministry in Nizhie Eshery, Abkhazia, was shelled by the Georgians again on Tuesday. There were no casualities among the Russian servicemen. No reply fire was opened, ITAR-TASS was told today at the press centre of the Russian Defence Ministry.

Russian and Georgian military representatives had talks on the convoy of seven trucks and five passenger cars that brought foodstuffs and fuel to the territory of the laboratory on Tuesday evening, the press centre of the Georgian Armed Forces in Abkhazia reports. The Georgian leadership, which suspects that something else instead of food and fuel was brought there, warned the Russian side that "resolute measures" would be taken in case of provocations by the Russian troops and that "responsibility for the possible consequences will be borne by Russian servicemen".

Beginning from November 1992, this military seismic laboratory, guarded by Russian paratroopers, was heavily shelled weekly by Georgian Government troops in spite of the protests lodged by the Russian military command. Starting from mid-March, the Georgian Air Force began systematic bombing raids on the former seismic laboratory in Nizhnie Eshery. The March 17 air raid claimed several casualties. The territory of the former military installation was shelled twice over the past week.

Russian military detachments, deployed in Abkhazia, as repeatedly stressed before, are observing strict neutrality and are not involved in any military actions in the confict zone. "The solution of problems linked with the Georgian-Abkhazian conflict," it is noted in the statement released by the Russian Government on March 20, "can be achieved only by immediately stopping the hostilities and implementing practical measures to arrange a dialogue and to resume the negotiations on the basis of the final documents adopted by the Moscow meeting of September 3, 1992."

Zviadists Will Not Join Georgian Army Force in Abkhazia

OW3103143493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1300 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The militias of the former president of Georgia will not fight in Abkhazia on the Georgian side. Vakhtang Kobaliya, their commander in Mingrelia, says that Zviad Gamsakhurdia himself told him not to.

In an INTERFAX interview Kobaliya said that he did not recognize the present authorities in Georgia and remained loyal to President Gamsakhurdia who has a "clear cut plan of resolving the Abkhazian conflict." Kobaliya did not elaborate.

Irakly Batiashvili, chief of Georgian intelligence, told parliament Tuesday [30 March] that once zviadist leaders broke the agreement with the Tbilisi authorities on their militias joining the Georgian Army, no negotiations with them were possible.

By unofficial reports, Kobaliya's force of about 500 men is deployed now in the vicinity of the village of Anakliya near the Black Sea port of Poti. By the same reports, they are undergoing intensive military training.

General Leshchuk Named Chief Supplier of Abkhaz Separatists

AU0104080693 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 17 Mar 93 p 3

[GIA (Georgian Information Agency) report: "'Hero' of Abkhaz Battles General Leshchuk or Who Is Profiting in the Fratricidal War in Abkhazia"]

[Text] In spite of the efforts of the Georgian leadership to transfer the conflict in Abkhazia in the direction of peaceful negotiations, the Abkhaz-Georgian front is blazing, as before, from weapon volleys. It would have been possible to halt the opposition of the two peoples long ago if not for the active participation on the side of the Abkhaz of Russian military, "confederationists" from the North Caucasus [members of the Caucasian Mountain Peoples Confederation], and Cossack representatives. One of those profiting from the fratricidal war in Abkhazia is 42-year-old General Pavel Aleksandrovich Leshchuk, a native of the Bashkir ASSR [Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic] and a Ukrainian by nationality.

In 1974, he graduated from the Rostov military command school imeni Marshall Nedelin and acquired the

specialization of electrical engineer. Following his discharge on health grounds from the ranks of the Soviet Army in which he served for four years, he worked in the "Surgutneftegazelektromontazh" trust in Tyumen Oblast. Then, he suddenly turned up in Sukhumi in the Abkhaz ASSR Ministry of Internal Affairs as civil defense senior engineer in the department for the protection of public order, where he was promoted to the position of senior engineer in the communications service. Since April 1992, Mr. Leshchuk has been serving in the so-called "Abkhaz Guard." The general is registered as a resident of Gudauta. He fulfills the duties of chief supplier of weapons, ammunition, and military equipment for the Abkhaz separatists. He is closely linked with the top echelon in the Russian Army and military-industrial complex.

It is known from competent sources that he is often seen in the corridors and reception rooms of the Russian Ministry of Defense and also in the departmental hotel on the Lenin hills where Vladislav Ardzinba's residence is located and in which the head of the Abkhaz separatists stays during his regular visits to the capital. It was he who conferred the rank of Major General upon Leshchuk for special services rendered to Abkhazia and even appointed him commander at the front. Here, however, he clearly made an error because dodging the bullets in no way figures in the plans of the "fighting" general whose business is military supplies and who considers the acquisition of money to be his principal concern. Thus, he did not last long in this post.

Leshchuk has companions in the supply sphere also in the Russian Ministry of Defense in the form of one of the department heads—Major General A.M. Chulkov. Not too long ago, he was minister of internal affairs of Abkhazia at the time when Leshchuk worked as senior engineer there. It is known that Chulkov evidently selflessly "helped" the Abkhaz supplier outfit up to 3,000 Abkhaz fighters.

It is known for certain that, under cover of commercial activities, representatives of the Moscow corporation "Kavkaz" are forming detachments of hired bandits for the Abkhaz side in the war against Georgia and are buying weapons and munitions for them. Naturally, General Leshchuk actively cooperates with this corporation. One of his last deliveries to Gudauta through the aforementioned commercial structures were 1.5 million live cartridges for small-arms weapons.

Russia's law enforcement bodies should certainly interest themselves in the activities of this corporation, which is supporting the Abkhaz separatists particularly after the adoption of the law on criminal responsibility for the recruitment of hirelings to participate in ethnic conflicts.

It is precisely thanks to such "heroes" as General Leshchuk that the flames of war are not dying out in Abkhazia, people are dying, and towns and villages are burning.

Gagra Volunteers Training for Combat

LD3103224893 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1600 GMT 31 Mar 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Excerpts] The press centre of the Georgian armed forces in Sukhumi has reported that yesterday afternoon intermittent fighting from fixed positions occurred all along the frontline near the Gumista River. [passage omitted]

In the meantime, a battalion has been formed in Tbilisi, manned by refugees from Gagra. It already has a base. This military formation is getting some training prior to being sent to Sukhumi.

Another group of Gagra refugees, also living in Tbilisi, has expressed a wish to take part in fighting for Georgia's integrity.

Commissar Discusses Military Service, Spring Call-Up

AU0104131493 Tbilisi SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA in Russian 26 Mar 93 p 3

[Interview with Tornike Papava, Georgian military commissar, by Aleksandr Imedashvili; place and date not given: "It May Be Difficult But We've Made a Start..."]

[Text] **Recently, the Georgian Parliament adopted a new law on universal military service.**

An SG [SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA] correspondent interviewed Tornike Papava, Georgian military commissar, who is directly in charge of organizing the spring call-up.

[Imedashvili] Has the worsening situation in Abkhazia had an influence on the spring call-up?

[Papava] The conscription boards started work on 15 March. In this respect, nothing has changed. However, as a result of events in Abkhazia, the dispatch of conscripts to military units has been postponed as the mobilization of reservists is currently taking place. We will send the young conscripts to their places of service at the beginning of April.

[Imedashvili] How many persons are being called up?

[Papava] Approximately 10,000; this is 5,000 fewer than before when we used to send 30,000 to the former Soviet Army each spring and autumn.

[Imedashvili] Has everything been prepared for the reception of the conscripts?

[Papava] Yes. The food, uniforms, weapons, ammunition, and barracks. The accomodations were wrecked when we received them from the Russian Army. Much time has been spent repairing them. Everything is now ready.

[Imedashvili] Who is exempt from call-up and will there be alternative service in Georgia?

[Papava] The medical boards will exempt those who are unfit to do service on health grounds. Privileges will be given to those studying in state higher educational institutions where there are departments of military science. On graduating, they will be called up for training and will receive the rank of lieutenant. As regards students in commercial higher educational institutions, those who were studying there prior to the issue of the new law will be liable for conscription after graduation. Those who entered the commercial higher educational institutions after the issue of the law will not be able to defer service.

As regards alternative service, which is widespread in the armies of west European countries, it will be granted to those who, according to their convictions, for example religious, cannot serve in the Army. If there are such cases, they will be isolated ones. The conscripts will be sent to construction units.

[Imedashvili] Will they not be sent to Abkhazia?

[Papava] No. How can they? They will have to undergo special training lasting one year at least. How can an untrained person be sent to war? Yes, it is being said that young people uneducated in military affairs are currently fighting but these are volunteers.

[Imedashvili] How long will the period of service be?

[Papava] We have decided that, for the moment, it will be two years.

[Imedashvili] What prospects do the conscripts have?

[Papava] When he completes his service, he will be given preference in finding work and entering a higher educational institution. If he so desires, he will be able to remain in the services on a contract basis and receive a fairly high wage.

[Imedashvili] Will the conscription board take into account a conscript's desire to serve in one branch or another of the services?

[Papava] Of course. If his particulars match, then no problem. The Ground Forces, the Navy, the Border Troops—there is a wide choice.

[Imedashvili] What can you say about the Georgian Army?

[Papava] We are precisely now forming a new army. One that will be well-drilled and trained but not very large. With its traditions and strict discipline. It may be difficult but we've made a start. We have a basis. The rest will depend on us alone.

Country To Have Coupons, 50 Percent Budget Deficit in 1993

MK0104064893 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 31 Mar 93 p 3

[Guga Lolishvili report: "Shevardnadze's Award, Meskhetian Return, Army Situation, and Money. Life In Republic Proceeds as Usual"]

[Text] Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the republic's parliament, has received an international Immanuel Kant award for 1992.

Previously, this award was given to Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

This is the second international award for Shevardnadze upon his return to Georgia from Moscow. The first one, a medal for his contribution to peace, was awarded to him by the International Center named for Count Batyani, a well-known Hungarian figure of the 19th century.

Eduard Shevardnadze met with a group of young Meskhetians, whose ancestors were deported from Georgia in 1944. Now they are studying in Tbilisi. The meeting focused on problems Georgia has to resolve to ensure a phased return of Meskhetian Turks, who are suffering hardships after the ill-famed events in Fergana.

Those who attended the meeting spoke about granting citizenship to the Meskhetians and giving them back their real names. The meeting was attended by parliamentarians, chiefs of the parliament's standing commissions, representatives of the intelligentsia, and institutions of higher learning.

On 30 March, the newspaper SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA carried an interview with Major General Boris Dyukov, commander of Russian troops in the Transcaucasus. The general said that the military equipment of the 10th Akhaltsikskaya division had been completely handed over to the Georgian Armed Forces along with the district training center.

"However," Dyukov said, "according to the Georgian Defense Ministry, out of 25,000 pieces of arms we transferred some time ago, over 20,000 have mysteriously disappeared."

Dyukov said that difficulties during the transfer of arms to Georgia stemmed from the fact that there was no treaty between Georgia and Russia on the status of Russian troops. He cited the example of Armenia, where a special commission was set up for those purposes.

In Georgia, the general said, he is often told: "We are at war, we do not have time." "As I see it, however, it is precisely Georgia that is interested in an early completion of all these steps, and this interest should be reflected in actions," Dyukov stated.

According to the general, the Georgian Army lacks discipline and training, which comes as no surprise

because junior officers have not been trained in Georgia for a long time, Dyukov added.

Dyukov reaffirmed that Russian troops did not take any part in the Georgian-Abkhaz conflict. "Obviously, however, I cannot answer for individual mercenaries," the general said.

When asked about the seismological laboratory in Eshery, or rather about Russia's stubborn unwillingness to pull its units out from there, Dyukov said: "Evidently, there is something to guard there, but I personally have not been there and cannot judge."

Georgian Prime Minister Tengiz Sigua said in a conversation with journalists that the republic is losing between 8 million and 10 million rubles [R] a day owing to the war with Abkhazia. Basically, this is the money that goes on fuel and military equipment maintenance.

"According to our experts," Sigua said, "the budget expenditure for 1993 is R250 million. The budget deficit is expected to be large—at least 50 percent. As for Georgia's annual oil and petroleum products requirements, they amount to around 5 million tonnes. Formerly it was like this: We received between 3.5 and 3.7 million from Russia, the rest was supplied by Azerbaijan. Once Russian deliveries halt, we have to limit ourselves to the Azerbaijani quota, which is insufficient for the economy to operate normally."

Meanwhile, coupons in denominations of 10, 500, and 10,000 featuring the Metekhskiy Cathedral and the monument to Georgian Tsar Vakhtang Gorgasali have been brought to the Georgian National Bank. Coupons in other denominations will arrive soon. According to preliminary information, they will start circulating on 5 April.

Decree Issued on Powers of Constitutional Commission

AU0104113993 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 26 Mar 93 p 1

["Decree of the Georgian Parliament on Guaranteeing the Powers of the State Constitutional Commission and its Activities" issued in Tbilisi on 25 March]

[Text] The Georgian Parliament **decrees:**

1. To ratify the rules of the State Constitutional Commission.

2. State establishments and organizations are to aid the State Constitutional Commission in carrying out work connected with preparing the Constitution.

3. The State Constitutional Commission has the right:

a) To submit a request to Georgian state organizations and an order to other organizations for the necessary information, materials, and documents for its activities;

b) To summon specialists to prepare and appraise individual parts of the draft constitution;

c) To hold scientific conferences, meetings, and seminars.

4. To entrust the Georgian parliamentary apparatus with the material and technical provision of the State Constitutional Commission;

5. To entrust the Republic of Georgia Cabinet of Ministers, on the recommendation of the head of the Georgian parliamentary apparatus, with resolving the questions of the financial and material and technical provision of the State Constitutional Commission.

6. To entrust the State Constitutional Commission with submitting the concept of a new version of the 1921 Georgian Constitution to the Georgian Parliament by June 1993.

V. Goguadze, speaker of the Georgian Parliament

Tbilisi, 25 March 1993

Referendum Rally Draws Over 1,500; No Incidents

AU3103175193 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1300 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Excerpt] Today at 1500, a sanctioned rally was held in Tbilisi that I attended for about an hour from 1500 to 1600. There were no incidents at the rally. There were about 1,500-2,000 people at the rally. The rally is probably still in progress and it is possible that more people have gathered. The speakers focused their attention on the referendum of 31 March 1991 [in which the overwhelming majority of Georgians voted for the restoration of the state independence of Georgia on the basis of the Act on Independence of 26 May 1918].

I was suprised that almost every one at the rally was holding a copy of the newspaper SAKARTVELOS SAMREKLO [pro-Gamsakhurdia]. [passage omitted]

Estonia

Defense Minister Pleased With Grachev Proposal

OW3103201393 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1956 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Estonian Defence Minister Hain Rebas told Baltfax that he was happy about his Russian counterpart Pavel Grachev's proposal to negotiate the issue of Russian troop withdrawals from the Baltic states saying he was prepared to do so.

Commenting on Grachev's statement that Lithuania showed proper understanding of the withdrawal issue, Rebas said Russia was still upholding the principle of divide and rule. He said it looked as if a vigorous offensive was being made on Latvia instead of Estonia as the case was last summer, said the Estonian Defence Minister.

Russian Delegation Head Meets Russian Citizens

WS0104091493 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1855 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Tallinn, March 31—The head of Russia's delegation at Estonian-Russian interstate negotiations, Vassiliy Svirin, met representatives of Estonia's Russian population in Russia's embassy in Tallinn.

Svirin introduced the presidium of the Estonian Russian-Speaking Population Representative Assembly Russia's standpoints at negotiations with Estonia.

The problems of citizenship, social protection of Russian military and their families as well as humanitarian, educational and economic matters were discussed.

Russia's ambassador to Estonia, Aleksandr Trofimov, attended the meeting.

Meri Appeals to Clinton Over Radio Broadcasts

LD3103171793 Tallinn Radio Estonia in English 1520 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] The Estonian president, Lennart Meri, has made a personal appeal to President Clinton to continue American Government-funded radio broadcasts to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union.

In his letter to Mr. Clinton, Mr. Meri expressed great concern over proposals to phase out Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Isolated behind the Iron Curtain people in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet republics used to depend heavily on Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty news broadcasts in their own languages. Local media still use foreign or Western broadcasts as a primary source of information.

Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty are among the few means the Western democracies have at hand to deter [words indistinct] ethnic conflicts of the kind we see in the former Yugoslavia, warns Mr. Meri.

Meri Pays Unofficial Visit to UK, To Go to Geneva

LD3103093093 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 0600 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Estonain President Lennart Meri is on an unofficial visit to Britain together with his wife, Helle Meri. Meri will give a lecture in London, at the Royal Institute of International Relations, on the subject Estonia, Russia, and the Baltic region. The president plans also to meet Jacques Attali, president of the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

On Friday [2 April] the president will be traveling to Geneva where he will meet several politicians, economists, and bankers.

Council of Europe Approves Application for Membership

OW3103213993 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1752 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Council of Europe's [CE] Human Rights Subcommittee ended a meeting in Tallinn on Wednesday [31 March] by adopting unanimously a resolution of approval of Estonia's application for CE membership, subcommitee members said speaking at a news conference in the Estonian capital.

Summing up the results of a three-day visit to Estonia, the subcomittee's woman leader Gret Haller spoke of arriving at a conclusion that there were no incidents of human rights abuses in the republic. She described Estonia's citizenship law as one of the world's most liberal. Haller also pointed to the absence of any specific problems in the area of democracy saying that the government and legislature were both fast and efficient in matters of law-making.

The EC subcommittee is hopeful that Estonia will ratify the European human rights convention and protocols to it. This will allow Estonian residents to appeal singly or in groups to the Council of Europe's Human Rights Committee.

At the same time, CE officials called for more active dialogue between the Estonian authorities and the country's ethnic minorities, and recommended that criminal law reforms be speeded up. The subcommittee believes Estonia has too many prisoners and that their sentences are too long. Estonia is also in need of laws ensuring access by journalists to all sources of information, subcommittee members said.

Ammunition Shipment From China Awaiting Finnish Permit

93P50130A Helsinki HELSINGIN SANOMAT in Finnish 26 Mar 93 p 9

[Article by Sven Wikstrom: "Arms Shipment for Estonian Defense Forces Awaiting Transit Permit in Kotka"]

[Text] Kotka—An arms shipment on its way from China to Estonia is awaiting a transit permit while being held in the bonded warehouse in the port of Kotka. The ammunition was ordered by the Estonia defense forces.

The export or transit of military weapons and ammunition requires a permit from the Finnish Defense Ministry. The release permit will be decided on Friday [26 March].

The ammunition shipment arrived in Kotka from China via Hamburg, since there are no direct shipping connections from Hamburg to Tallinn.

More than half of the 15-ton shipment consisted of 9mm pistol cartridges. According to the Finnish agent, the remainder is made up of 7.62mm rifle cartridges. Depending on the casings, the rounds may be adaptable to Finnish and Russian military rifles, automatic rifles, and Maxim machine guns used during World War II.

In Finland such old large-bore military rifles are now also used in hunting, mainly for big game. Old military rifles are exported from Finland to Estonia as hunting rifles, mostly for use by the Defense League. Weapons from the Finnish Armed Forces have not been exported. The Finnish Defense Ministry has made a decision in principle not to send arms to Estonia.

The ammunition shipment ordered by Estonia is reportedly a test lot. One factor in deciding to buy Chinese military ammunition was probably attractive price. Because of the price level, Finland ordered 100,000 assault rifles from China about a year ago.

Latvia

Interior, Police Chiefs Begin Visit to Israel

LD2703182893 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 27 Mar 93

[Text] Ziedonis Cevers, minister of internal affairs of Latvia, and Laimonis Liepins, head of the criminal police, are beginning their visit to Israel today. They arrived there yesterday at the invitation of the Israeli Ministry of Interior. The Israeli minister of interior, police chief, and chief of staff received the two Latvian representatives today. In the next few days they will be acquainted with the work of the police in fighting crime, combating drugs smuggling and trafficking, and training police officers for their difficult service. It is envisaged that during the talks both sides will sign a protocol on Israeli assistance to the Latvian police with material and equipment, including arms, ammunition, motor transport, and means of technical communication.

Economic Reforms Minister on Cooperation With Israel

OW3003120393 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1043 GMT 30 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia and Israel can cooperate not only in tourism but in other spheres too. This was disclosed to journalists by the Latvian Minister for Economic Reforms Aivars Kreituss after a business visit to Israel.

Representatives of owners of Sheraton and Hilton hotel chains as well as the General Director of the Israeli Export Institute David Litvak are expected to arrive in Latvia soon for drafting a bilateral cooperation agreement.

Kreituss accounted the interest of Israeli businessmen in cooperation to the stabilization of the Latvian national currency.

Parties Granted Equal Opportunity To Use Radio, TV

WS3103141193 Riga LETA in English 1100 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Riga, March 31 (LETA)—The Supreme Council of Latvia has made a decision to grant all parties and movements equal opportunities to use radio and TV to promote their pre-electoral programmes. In accordance to the decision, the candidates comprising a single electoral list, to their own mutual agreement either jointly or separately, are granted right to use broadcasting time of radio or TV for promoting their pre-electoral programmes free of charge.

In case if any candidate or a group of candidates buys broadcasting time of radio or TV for promoting their programmes, radio and TV shall be obliged to provide an equal opportunity for candidates of all the other parties, movements and unions to make their appearance in TV or radio broadcasts for equally long and equally favourable time, if this be their demand. Before such an address a candidate should state who has paid for broadcasting time, as well as to declare the sum of money which has been paid.

The decision also bans the journalists on radio and TV to promote any candidate or pre-electoral list during broadcasts, starting with 80th day before the date of parliamentary elections. The employees of radio or TV, which are nominated candidates for elections or which 80 days before vote have made a public statement on their active participation in activities of any party or pre-electoral union, are banned to run TV shows or radio broadcasts, make any commentaries, interviews and feature broadcasts.

Forces Poised To Patrol Country's Airspace

OW3103222493 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1956 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] Latvia's airforce and navy are due to start patrolling the country's air space both in air and from sea from May, 1993, head of the country's air defenses Eduard Zakhariat told Baltfax.

He also said the country's air defense forces were in possession of four MI-2 helicopters and two L-410 cargo aircraft.

Helicopter training flights began on Wednesday [31 March], with similar flights aboard transport planes scheduled to start in the next few days.

Lithuania

Further Reaction to Grachev Statement on Troop Pullout

Explanation Awaited From Russians

LD3103202993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1846 GMT 31 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius March 31 TASS—"We are greatly concerned with the statement by Pavel Grachev, Russian defence minister, which he made in Brussels, that Russia suspends withdrawal of its troops from the Baltic states. We are waiting for an official explanation from the Russian Foreign Ministry as to Russia's true approach to the issue, but we have not received it so far," Povilas Gylys, Lithuanian foreign minister, told ITAR-TASS.

Lithuanian leaders have repeatedly made clear their position. "We are keeping to the Russo-Lithuanian agreements, signed in September 1992 in Moscow, about the ultimate withdrawal of Russian troops from Lithuania until August 31, 1993. At the same time, I must underline that the withdrawal of Russian troops is going on for the time being and it has not been suspended so far," the minister said.

"We are aware of the present situation in Russia, but Lithuania cannot disregard such statements, because they are touching upon its vitally important interests. We are still waiting for an official explanation on the part of the Russian Foreign Ministry," Gylys stressed.

More Butkevicius Remarks

OW3103214193 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1751 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [31 March] the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Lithuania sent Russia's Ministry of Foreign Affairs a note containing a request for an explanation. The request concerned the announcement by the Minister of Defense of Russia Pavel Grachev, made in Brussels, that the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states is to be be temporarily stopped.

In response to the question asked by the "Baltfax" correspondent at a Wednesday press-conference in Vilnius the Minister of Regional Defence of Lithuania Audrius Butkevicius informed that the decision to send the note was taken at a presidential meeting participated in by the Minister of Foreign Affairs Povilas Gylys.

The Minister of Regional Defence rendered the declaration by P. Grachev on the withdrawal of troops "unprecedented" and said it was an absolutely new, publicly formulated, at an international forum, Russian position on the issue of the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic countries. He said, P. Grachev's statement attracted attention worldwide.

A. Butkevicius informed that he had met with P. Grachev before the latter made his statement. The minister expressed hope, based on the discussion, that the withdrawal of troops would be completed within the period determined by the bilateral schedule, that is by August this year. He supported his opinion by references to the assurances made by Russian diplomats of readiness to comply with the agreements concluded and by the fact of the continuation of the withdrawal.

A. Butkevicius also accentuated that Lithuania received no official confirmation of the withdrawal being stopped and recommended differentiating between the "politics of words and the politics of action."

President, Ministers Meet

LD3103231793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] At a meeting yesterday with the ministers of national defense and foreign affairs, Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas said that the statement by Pavel Grachev was linked more to Russia's international situation, notably before the referendum.

The participants discussed how Lithuania should respond to the statement. According to Audrius Butkevicius, on 29 March the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry responded with a statement and a note was sent to the Russian Foreign Ministry today. In addition, actions are being coordinated with other Baltic states.

Treaties Explained

PM0103092193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Apr 93 First Edition p 2

[Report by Nikolay Lashkevich: "Lithuania Does Not Accept Russian Defense Minister's Arguments"]

[Text] Russian Defense Minister P. Grachev's statement at the session of the defense ministers of NATO and East European countries regarding the intention to suspend the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Baltic states has generated a stormy reaction in Lithuania.

Scarcely had the news arrived from Brussels, where the session was held, before the Lithuanian Foreign Ministry summoned N. Obertyshev, Russian ambassador to Lithuania, and demanded that he give explanations: Is the defense minister's statement the official position of the Russian leadership or the personal view of the head of the military department? Protest statements poured in from many Lithuanian parties and movements and the influential right-wing opposition. On his return from Brussels, however, National Defense Minister A. Butkevicius, noting the unsoundness of P. Grachev's arguments regarding the need first to sign a relevant treaty with Lithuania and to provide social guarantees for officers, was not so pessimistic and expressed the conviction that the Russian troops will be withdrawn from Lithuania according to schedule by 31 August this year. Essentially he tried to dash the wave of anger caused by P. Grachev's statement and denied press reports that Russia does not intend to fulfill the agreement it has signed on the withdrawal of troops from Lithuania, especially as P. Grachev did not mention Lithuania in his statement.

As for the allegedly unsigned treaties on the withdrawal of troops, the Lithuanian defense minister recalled that a treaty has been signed between Lithuania and Russia on the terms and schedule for the withdrawal of the troops (to be precise, what has been signed is a consular convention and a schedule for the troops' withdrawal with two additional protocols to the latter document—on the procedure for resolving technical and organizational questions and on the rules of conduct of the units that are being withdrawn. Incidentally, it was the two countries' defense ministers who signed them. But a political treaty, which is a broader political document on the troop withdrawal, has not been signed—N.L.). Therefore Lithuania is perplexed: Surely an unsigned political agreement does not give the right to cancel other accords backed by the defense ministers' signatures?

Landsbergis Comments

WS0104094193 Tallinn BNS in English 0745 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Vilnius, Mar 31, BNS—The statement on the suspension of the Russian military withdrawal from the Baltic states is a new method of pressuring Lithuania and the West, Lithuanian opposition leader said.

Russia is constantly "checking the reaction of western countries with its threatening statements," Vytautas Landsbergis, leader of the opposition, says in a statement circulated Wednesday [31 March]. Weak reaction "induces Russian politicians with an empire way of thinking to new threats and expansionist intents."

Russia's refusal to observe the army withdrawal schedule on the background of a political crisis in Russia "could mean hopes for considerable financial aid from the West," Landsbergis says.

"If greater concern about the fate of the Baltic states and the withdrawal of Russian troops will not be expressed by the West at the Vancouver summit, Russia's expansionists will interpret this in a way useful to themselves", the statement says.

Gylys Wants Russian Talks Delegation To Achieve More

WS0104093893 Tallinn BNS in English 0745 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Vilnius, Mar 31, BNS—The new Lithuanian delegation for negotiations with Russia must achieve more than the previous one, Povilas Gylys, Lithuanian foreign minister, said.

"We value experience and that is why we cannot underestimate the work of the previous delegation, led by Ceslovas Stankevicius. However I would not overestimate their work either. Probably, it was possible to achieve more," Gylys told the daily Lietuvos Aidas.

Lithuanian President Brazauskas appointed a new delegation for negotiations with Russia last week. The delegation is led by MP Virgilijus Bulovas, 53, member of the ruling Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party.

"Psychological orientation is also very significant - the difference between the two political trends in Lithuania (leftist and rightist - BNS) is not conceptual, but psychological - how we regard Russia," he said.

The Lithuanian minister said Lithuania could achieve more at negotiations with Russia with its "firm correctness, since we are right and it is easy for us to negotiate."

Gylys expressed hope that "Russia's politicians, including radicals, will have enough common sense" to overcome the present crisis in Russia and to avoid a civil war.

Seimas Continues Discussing Government Program

LD3003161293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1509 GMT 30 Mar 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Vladas Burbulis]

[Text] Vilnius March 30 TASS—A plenary meeting of the Lithuanian Seimas continued today the discussion of a new republican government program, submitted by the prime minister.

"The main economic task of the government is economic stabilization, curtailment of the production recession, which has become threatening, and the lowering of inflation rates," the official told the Seimas.

As for the Lithuanian foreign policy, "Lithuania has no enemies or territorial claims, it will strive for friendly relations with both its neighbours and remote states on the basis of parity and mutual benefit." The premier called for "transformation of Lithuanian relations with the commonwealth states within the context of normal cooperation and exchange in various spheres."

The relations with Latvia and Estonia should become a priority, especially in coordination of the countries' stands on the east. The prime minister noted one cannot say all possibilities have been used to coordinate economic actions of the three Baltic states.

"The Lithuanian government will do its best to provide for organized and immediate withdrawal of Russian troops from republican territory, as it is envisaged by the Lithuanian-Russian agreement of September 8, 1992," says the program.

The document has provoked heated debates of the ruling majority and the opposition, which includes Sajudis supporters. The discussion is expected to end on Thursday. After the program approval, the new government members will take the oath and start to fulfill their duties.

Slezevicius Outlines Tasks

OW3103213493 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1750 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] On Wednesday [31 March] at the Seimas plenary session, the Lithuanian government headed by Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, the sixth one following restoration of Lithuania's statehood, swore the oath of allegiance and set to fulfill its duties.

A discussion of the government's program, which ended with a speech of Prime Minister Slezevicius, preceded to the oath of cabinet of ministers' members.

Slezevicius pointed out that the new cabinet inherited a great number of problems. The Premier again underlined the government's intention to continue economic reforms and privatization, to transfer from the transfer of land to land reform. He assured that the government will look for possibilities to solve the most urgent social problems, however, he asked members of the parliament "not to make hasty and unreasonable statements and decisions on these issues."

Prime Minister Slezevicius addressed members of the parliament with a request "to give a possibility to the cabinet to work in calm at least half a year, to prevent non-constructive critics and unreal and disbalanced proposals."

The parliament has approved the government's program, 73 members of the Seimas voted for this resolution, 27 - against, and 21 abstained from voting.

The Lithuanian president Algirdas Brazauskas adopted resignation of the former Prime Minster Bronislav Lubys, thanked him and the former government for the work they had done. The head of state wished to Slezevicius and to his government to work "seriously, firmly, and with a long-term prospect", and to constructively cooperate with the parliament and president.

New Cabinet Sworn In

LD3103153993 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1400 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Text] Today an additional plenary session of the Lithuanian Seimas took place. The program of Adolfas Slezevicius' government was confirmed at the session.

The State and Law Committee was entrusted with the task by the Seimas to summarize all the remarks and proposals by 15 June and to present them to the government. Following this, the ceremony of the swearing in of the Cabinet of Ministers took place. The new government was congratulated by President Algirdas Brazauskas. He wished them success in their work, which has already begun.

Slezevicius left the Seimas Palace to participate in two meetings at the government palace. This weekend he is to leave for Moscow to meet the Russian Prime Minister Chernomyrdin.

Prime Minister Changes Decision on LDPL Activity

OW3103213593 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1751 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius has revised his decision to suspend activity in the Council of Lithuania's Democratic Party of Labor (LDPL), he reported about his decision on Wednesday [31 March], addressing the plenary session of the Lithuanian parliament.

Slezevicius declared his decision to leave the ruling organ of the party, which has a majority in the Lithuanian parliament, when he agreed to head the new government.

According to Slezevicius, he made his present decision in order to prevent the spreading of rumors that he is allegedly striving to bar Lithuania's Democratic Party of Labor from responsibility for the results of the new government's activity.

Committee Official Names Foreign Policy Priorities

OW3103214393 Moscow BALTFAX in English 1752 GMT 31 Mar 93

[Following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] The Foreign Affairs Committee has discussed the concept of the country's foreign policy priorities proposed by the Foreign Ministry, Committee Chairman Kazys Bobelis said speaking in an interview with the Tiesa newspaper.

Among top foreign policy priorities, Bobelis singled out the need for wider cooperation with western countries to help attract investment to stop the country's economic recession. He said this could help Lithuania become an equal partner of democractic western states.

Secondly, the parliamentary official said Lithuania must in a more open way promote relations with the newly-independent republics of the former Soviet Union because of their vital importance to Lithuania in the economic area. "We import raw materials from there and they present one of the best market for our exports", Bobelis maintained.

And finally, he stressed the need for regulating the work by the country's diplomatic missions abroad. Bobelis pointed to a lack of close coordination with government institutions, with most of the missions operating, as he put it, spontenously.

Government To Receive 50-Million ECU Credit

OW3003212693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1644 GMT 30 Mar 93

[From the "INTERFAX Business Reports"—following item transmitted via KYODO]

[Text] A memorandum signed last week states that Lithuania will receive the first 50 Mn [million] ECU [European currency unit] ($60 Mn) of a 100 Mn ECU ($120 Mn) credit granted the Baltic republic by the European Community in October of 1992. The credit was issued at 7.4% annually for 17 years.

The credit is the main portion of a financial aid program to Lithuania which also includes a 45 Mn ECU ($54 Mn) credit for vital imports granted by the Japanese Eximbank.

The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development will grant Lithuania a $46 Mn credit to develop the energy industry and implement energy conservation programs. The credit was granted at a floating rate for 10 years.

Lithuania also expects to receive a $60 Mn credit from the World Bank (7.4% for 17 years) which was approved by the bank last October. The Lithuanian government said $33 Mn will be used to develop the energy sector, $15 Mn to buy oil, and the remainder to buy medicines, pesticides, and veterinary compounds, and will be sold by commercial banks to enterprises buying hard currency to cover their needs under the exchange rate set by the government.

Lithuania received a total of $58 Mn in credits last year.

The International Monetary Fund granted the state Bank of Lithuania $23 Mn (another $6 Mn is expected) to stabilize the coupon, the republic's national currency.

The United States government granted $10 Mn for 20 years to buy agricultural products (at 2% annually for the first 7 years, and later at 3%).

The Ministry of Agriculture received another $25 Mn., which will be used to buy 20,000 tons of soya oilseed meal ($4 Mn) from the U.S. and 160,000 tons of corn ($15.4 Mn); the rest will pay for shipping costs.

Foreign Minister Signs Council of Europe Conventions

LD0104132793 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1100 GMT 1 Apr 93

[Text] Lithuanian Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys, currently on an official visit in Strasbourg, signed today in the presence of Council of Europe General Secretary Catherine Lalumiere, two conventions of this organization: the convention of the Council of Europe on spectator violence and bad behavior at sport events and the anti-doping convention of the Council of Europe.